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Contents

Editorial Notes 268

Leading Editorials
- A Victory of Justice *vs.* A Victory of Power 271
- The Case of Bulgaria 273
- Palestine Redeemed 274

General Articles
- Coal—Why Not More? ..... William Hard 276
- The Super-Airman ..... W. P. Crozier 278
- The Training of the A. E. F.—II ..... Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant 280
- Sic Semper Dissenters (Verse) ..... Clarence Day, Jr. 282
- Conditions in Russia 283

Reviews of Books
- A Novel of Opinion ..... F. H. 291
- A New Champion of the Absolute ..... R. F. A. H. 293

DURING the days of fear and gloom last spring, when the German army was so inexplicably successful, it was a distinct relief to some of us when we realized that an offensive conducted on such a scale could have but one meaning. The German Staff was putting an end to a war of attrition and was striving for a decision. The effort failed, but after it failed the alternative possibility that the Allied armies in their turn were capable of turning on the Germans and insisting on an early decision seemed too good to be seriously cherished. Yet it is true. The French, the British and the American armies in France are plainly fighting to bring about a decision this fall and no statement of military fact, if true, could bulge with greater and happier tidings than this statement does. Knowing as we do what terrible wear and tear on material and men the steady remorseless Allied offensive involves, we feel sure General Foch would not risk it unless he knew the German military power was really tottering and could scarcely save itself from a costly collapse. The collapse is almost certainly coming and it may come more quickly and go farther than even very sanguine people have dared to hope. For a well balanced and overworked machine like that of Germany, when it begins to fail fails with surprising suddenness and completeness. In so far as General Foch is trying for a decision this fall he will probably get it.

SECOND only in importance to the military success of the Allies in its tendency to shorten the war are the domestic convulsions in Germany which will result from those successes. These convulsions are certain to come. When the General Staff took possession of the government of the country at the time of the Russian negotiations and imposed terms which violated all sound political considerations, it was undertaking a colossal gamble. It was risking on its ability to obtain a military victory not only what remained of the political credit of Germany but what remained of the confidence of the German people in the political leadership of the nation by the military and bureaucratic class. The General Staff has lost its gamble and the class in Germany which allows its purposes to be represented by a military autocracy must pay the price. The great spring offensive was, as we can now plainly see, not only a military tour de force, but it was in effect a political coup d'état. It did not violate the legal process of German government, but it did strain to the breaking point the confidence of the German people in their political leadership. Never was a great people betrayed into spending such colossal efforts and sufferings upon so disreputable a cause, and never had such a people a better right to exact the full penalty of their betrayal. They will demand a new and different government and they will have to satisfy their demands in the near future while the fighting is still going on. Only by popularizing their state and altering its balance of political power can they obtain the new moral unity without which they will be unable to negotiate effectively for peace, or, failing to obtain a peace, to carry on a defensive war.

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HERTLING and von Hintze have already resigned. The former will be succeeded by a Chancellor and a ministry resting more explicitly on parliamentary support. The new government will propose some minor constitutional changes, but its programme will not prove to be sufficiently radical. Unless all precedents fail, once the process of reorganization is begun, it will travel farther and faster than any but a few extremists proposed in the beginning. In order to meet President Wilson's terms the German parliament will have to go very far indeed. The Kaiser may survive, but Kaiserism must be stamped out, and by Kaiserism we mean chiefly the constitutional provisions which place the control of the army and the foreign policy of the nation in the hands of a caste of rulers who are not legally responsible to any ultimate popular authority. The President in his last speech explicitly reaffirmed his decision first uttered more than a year ago in his answer to the Pope, not to negotiate with the present government. "The German people," he says, "must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who have forced this war upon us" and he means by those "who forced this war upon us" the "governments of the Central Powers." Those words will probably never be read by the German people, but their meaning will carry none the less because they only declare a verdict which is latent in the facts of the situation. The Germans will realize the necessity of reconstructing their government. We trust they will also be helped to realize that if they admit the culpable failure of their government by drastically changing it, they can be restored to the family of nations. This assurance also the President has embodied in his speech. He explicitly states that a part of the price which must be paid for "a secure and lasting peace" is not only "impartial justice" in "every item of the settlement" but also "the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with"—which includes, of course, the satisfaction of a repentant German people.

CONSIDERING how brilliant are the prospects of Allied victory in all the other regions of military and political combat, would they not do well to abandon the one phase of their policy which is not being crowned with success? The military intervention in Siberia and elsewhere in Russia is not, so it appears, rolling up the Russian support which was predicted for it. The Allied troops are engaged in fighting Russians rather than Germans, and are not contributing anything apparent to the winning of the war. The best method of counteracting German penetration in Russia is to give to the Russians the help which they need in order to ameliorate their present economic disorganization, and to substitute economic assistance for military intervention. The most promising plan would be to send Prof. Masaryk to Siberia for the purpose of securing the cooperation of the Soviet government in getting the Czecho-Slovaks out of Russia. Probably he could secure their cooperation on acceptable terms and without very much difficulty. Once the Soviets were relieved of this threat, and once they were permitted to obtain some of the food supplies of which they are so much in need from Siberia, they would soon be ready to recognize the consequences of German defeat and to act with the Allies in cleaning Russia of German influence. The Soviet forces might just as well be engaged in fighting German rather than Allied troops, and with sufficient encouragement they can be brought to do so.

TURKEY would long since have made overtures for peace if she could have cherished any hope that the Allies would leave her in unimpaired possession of most of her imperial dominions. This they will not do, and Turkey knows it. When she surrenders unconditionally, as she must, the most generous terms she can expect will be undisturbed possession of the Anatolian plateau and such parts of the coast land as are not purely Greek. The purer the spirit of democracy and internationalism prevailing in the peace conference, the more inevitable will be the expulsion of the Turk from Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Constantinople. Therefore those Turks who are of imperial habit of mind may be expected to resist to the utmost. But such Turks are an insignificant minority. The peasant of the Anatolian highlands cares no more for Constantinople than does the Russian peasant. To the Turkish common people Arabia and Syria were never anything more than an unending drain of men and money. It will be a happy day for the peasants when those remote territories are lost, just as it was a happy day for the Spanish peasants when they were delivered of military service in the malarious colonies of Spain. The dismemberment of the Turkish empire will not be a punishment to any of the Turks except the officials and generals to whom the rest of the people are cattle.

DOUBT persists as to the authenticity of the documents published by the Committee on Public Information purporting to reveal sinister relations between the Bolsheviki and the German government. The more one delves, the more fishy some of them appear. That "Nia" Bank transaction, for example: we have now the assertion of the man who was at the time managing director of the

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Nya Bank that it is a myth, and a challenge for an examination of the books of the bank. We did not need Mr. Creel's emphatic statement to assure us that the officers of the government responsible for the publication of the documents believed them genuine. But nobody would assert that even in time of war government officers as such are infallible judges of historical documents. The government has in its service a body of experts in precisely this field, the National Board for Historical Service. This board is made up of scholars whose patriotism and integrity and scientific competence are beyond cavil. Why should not that board be required to appoint a committee, charged with the responsibility of sifting the whole matter and reporting their findings to the public? For our part, we should be perfectly willing to accept the judgment of such a committee in lieu of our own.

GOOD news from the seats of war will serve as a stimulus to the Loan campaign. Germany is beaten: that is the plain lesson of the succession of defeats she has undergone, military and political. The end is in sight, although it is as yet impossible to say whether peace will come next winter or after another summer's campaign. What is perfectly certain, however, is that every fact that emphasizes Allied superiority brings nearer the day when Germany will yield. Every kilometre gained, every prisoner taken, extends the morale of defeat among the German people. In precisely the same manner such an exhibition of financial strength as the Fourth Liberty Loan heavily oversubscribed will spread dismay among the enemy. We may sometimes lose sight of the concrete realities behind a public loan, but the Germans cannot fail to see in it more ships conveying troops and guns and shells to add to the pressure against their lines, already wavering. By happy accident the loan was timed to coincide with events capable of shaking a stouter morale than the German. It behooves every American to see that so far as it lies in his power this accidental opportunity is exploited to the utmost.

BY the powerful championship of his address on Monday, President Wilson drove home upon the Senate its inescapable responsibility in regard to woman suffrage. Not only did he illuminate the principles to which the suffragists appeal and assert with extreme force and candor the importance of observing them, he also made it perfectly clear that the question had to be met by the Senate as an issue of pressing world significance. It was not remarkable, under the circumstances, that Mr. Underwood should urge a prompt dismissal of "this trying and vexatious question." To shove it out of sight is the instinctive act of men unable to adjust themselves, as President Wilson has adjusted himself, to a necessary shift in the terms of political emphasis and the centre of political consciousness. Whether the obdurate minority will nullify the present effort is not known as this is being written, but the forces that may be checked at the moment must unfailingly assert themselves again before 1920. Victory in Iowa or a state of like condition will become imperative, if the amendment is unfortunately postponed—unfortunately for the women and for the United States.

THE Frelinghuysen amendment is of minor importance, and should not confuse the main issue. But it has long been obtrusively evident to anyone who thinks of women as persons that the citizenship of the husband should not determine the citizenship of the wife. If a woman were simply a domestic mechanism that made beds and cooked dinners and produced babies, the more complete her subordination to her husband the simpler. But once the vote was conceded the anomaly of a wife's subordination to her husband's civic status became grotesque. The ordinary process of naturalization may be in need of revision, but it is the right process for women as well as men. And it is indisputably unfair for an American woman to lose her citizenship, as if she were a criminal, simply because she marries outside the tribe.

RAILWAY security holders have no good ground for complaining about the treatment they are receiving under the war administration of the railways. Mr. Francis H. Sisson, of the Guaranty Trust Co., who is as good authority on railway securities as we have, points out that on December 26th of last year, just before the railways were taken over, ten of the highest grade railroad bonds were quoted at 81.40; on July 1, 1918, they were quoted at 81.17; on September 6th, at 80.66. Ten second grade bonds, quoted at 75.79 on December 26th, were worth 77.60 on September 6th. In the same period ten representative high grade industrial bonds advanced from 89.42 to 91.86. Twenty representative railway stocks advanced from 71.61 to 85.55. On the whole, therefore, railway security holders have fared well. Their capital has appreciated at a time when tremendous public borrowings would work toward a depreciation of securities not buoyed up by war profits. This is a condition that makes it probable that an agitation for the continuance of federal control beyond the period now fixed in the law will find support in quarters where the idea of public ownership was formerly regarded with loathing.

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IF the federal employment agencies are to do their work efficiently during the war, still more if they are to cope satisfactorily with the complexities of the reconstruction period, they must somehow be provided with a professionally trained personnel. There are in our larger cities numerous extra-academic cultural associations that could profitably undertake to offer the appropriate training. The Training School for Community Workers of the People's Institute of New York has already worked out a plan, in cooperation with the Federal Employment Service, by which candidates for the service may spend part of their time in the employment offices, and part of it in industrial establishments requiring labor, and thus secure the practical experience needed to give body to their more formal courses.

A Victory of Justice vs. A Victory of Power

AMONG the many luminous, stirring and triumphant messages which since American entrance into the war President Wilson has addressed to the American people and to the statesmen and people of all nations, his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on the night of September 27th will rank probably as the most timely, the most luminous and the most triumphant. At first glance it may appear to be chiefly a reiteration of principles and aspirations which he has proclaimed many times, and this superficial impression would, of course, contain a measure of truth. The President is too skillful and effective a political propagandist not to realize the need of remorseless repetition in driving unfamiliar ideas into the minds even of an intelligent and alert public. But the speech of September 27th was far from being merely the reiteration of salutary principles or even the reaffirmation of a fighting faith. The President has infused into his reiterated programme a fresher, larger and more definite meaning partly by giving to its dominant idea a novel, almost a revolutionary emphasis and partly by an increasing candor in dealing with its implications and consequences. His speech is both an appeal to the peoples of the world for support in building his programme into the structure of an international society and a warning to the statesmen both in friendly and in enemy countries not to stand in the way.

President Wilson has repeatedly associated American war aims with the ultimate formation of a League of Nations, but never before has he so explicitly and irrevocably crowned the League as the royal principle in the official American peace programme. The American people profoundly believe they are fighting to introduce a larger measure of justice into international policy and conduct. They are now assured that the wholly "indispensable instrumentality" of justice in international conduct is a "League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious." "The constitution of the League and the clear definition of its objects" becomes "the most essential part of the peace settlement itself." The President does not believe in forming it now, because, if formed now, it would in his opinion degenerate into an exclusive alliance with a chiefly belligerent policy. He does not believe in waiting to form it until after the peace conference, because the chief function of the League will be that of guaranteeing the settlement, and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an after-thought. There remains only one alternative. In essence and effect his plan is to transform the peace conference itself into an international league, including Germany, which, as its most immediately essential business, will not work to collect damages and divide territories but to agree upon "a clear definition of common objects and an international organization adapted to their realization."

We do not exaggerate in characterizing this erection of the League of Nations into the indispensable agency of a just international settlement as revolutionary. Practically all the regular European and American statesmen, with rare exceptions such as Lord Grey, while they may not be opposed to the ultimate formation of an international league, measure the value of the coming settlement, not in terms of a permanent international structure built purposely to provide a habitation for the spirit of justice and fair play, but in terms of the satisfaction of specific territorial and economic pretensions or grievances. The only important body of opinion which hitherto has appraised the League of Nations as the dominant formative principle of the peace settlement has been that represented by the British Labor party and the Inter-Allied Socialist Conference. The character of the support which this peculiar emphasis upon the League has obtained is a fair indication of the revolutionary changes which its acceptance will force upon the world.

The vital significance of the new emphasis of Mr. Wilson on the League of Nations can be clearly brought out by comparing the President's vision of the coming settlement with that of Senator Lodge. The Senator from Massachusetts sketched in a recent speech a scheme of territorial demands upon which, in his opinion, the victorious Allies should insist. With many of these specific demands most right-

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minded men will agree. Yet their satisfaction, taken by itself, will not be sufficient to effect that infusion of security and justice into international dealings and contracts without which the war will have been fought in vain. Senator Lodge not only ignored the need of creating a permanent agency of international fair dealing, but he was willing to violate the essential law on which organized internationalism must rest—the law, as the President states it, of meting out a justice so impartial that it will "involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just." Senator Lodge did not propose to be just in the sense of being impartial even to a beaten Germany. On the contrary, he planned to use victory for the purpose of writing into the treaty of peace discrimination against Germany. He confuses justice with punishment, while the President, in the spirit of Christian magnanimity, associates it with fair play resulting in an opportunity for repentance and regeneration. In no previous address has the President so explicitly repudiated the policy of punishing a defeated Germany by economic and other discriminations which such associations as the American Defense Society and such journals as The New York Tribune advocate as the test of American patriotism. If America and her allies are to win the war and to write a just peace compatible with the formation of a League of Nations, they must forswear this heathen counsel of discrimination and revenge as they would a word of advice from the Kaiser himself.

A little reflection will show why, if the war is to be won for popular liberty, the President must insist on impartial justice for a beaten Germany and why this policy will bring about revolutionary changes in the traditional relationship among nations. Senator Lodge plans to discriminate against Germany because he considers it necessary to weaken her future power of offense. But if a League of Nations were formed no such necessity would exist. He was driven to a vindictive policy because, ignoring as he did a League of Nations, a deliberately weakened Germany was the only guaranty which he could devise against possible future German aggression. He did not seem to realize that by the adoption of this remedy he would perpetuate that competition for preponderance in military power which would be in the future, as it has been in the past, the prolific mother of war, militarism and imperative international violence. There is no kind of peace to which Senator Lodge is more sternly opposed than a peace based on the status quo ante, but he himself by proposing to apply one rule to America's existing enemies and another to America's existing allies is advocating the perpetuation of the European status quo ante in its most baleful form—the form of a never-ending struggle for an excess of power. The President, on the other hand, is a revolutionary innovator, chiefly because he is striving to substitute an international concert for this previous international anarchy.

Another kind of peace to which Senator Lodge is not less sternly opposed than he is to one based on the status quo ante is a peace obtained by bargaining. Yet if his programme of discrimination against a beaten Germany were adopted, the specific peace terms would necessarily be determined by a bargain. The bargain would be arranged, it is true, among the Allies rather than between the belligerents, but it would none the less have a defeatist tendency. It would suffer from the same disadvantages as a bargain with an undefeated Germany, because a group of free nations which allowed considerations of power to determine its treatment of their beaten enemy could not refuse to allow considerations of power to determine their transactions one with another. In short, if the Allies insist upon a dictated peace which is also to be a just peace, obtained by the impartial application of principles instead of the trading of economic privileges, territories and power, they must create a supernational agency of international fair play—a League of Nations whose dictates will be entitled to survive as the common law of the world.

The President's last speech was, moreover, remarkable not only in its revolutionary emphasis upon a League of Nations as the agency of the greater final victory, but in the courageous candor with which he developed the implications of this conception. Having stated his own interpretation of the issues with so much clarity, he did not flinch from asking the opponents of his conception also to lay their hands on the table. There are many statesmen in Europe who, like Senator Lodge, conceive the final settlement "only in terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power and not in terms of a broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace." In so far as these statesmen disagree with his plan of vindicating a dictated peace by creating a League of Nations to guarantee the justice of the dictates, he asks them to submit their case to the world public opinion. "I hope," he says, "that they (the leaders of the Allied governments) will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained." This is a warning in the form of an invitation to America's European allies to clear up the ambiguities in their war aims and either to accept the American programme and agree in

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calling an inter-Allied conference on war aims or to state wherein and why they reject it. He insists, as the New Republic has so often insisted, that "unity of purpose and counsel" is "as necessary in this war as was unity of command on the battle-field." By bringing this unity of purpose into existence now or in the near future the Allies will be making the same imperative preparation for victory at the Peace Conference as they made by victory in the field when they placed General Foch in supreme command.

As long as the Allied armies were fighting a defensive battle and were still in danger of defeat, Allied statesmen had an excuse for ignoring the possible political discord which has always been concealed by the unity of the battle front. But now they have gained "the assurance of complete victory," they are bound to declare by what agencies and acts they propose to translate the victory of power into the victory of justice. Otherwise they will be exposing themselves to the danger of winning a military triumph only to suffer a political defeat at the hands of an enemy peace offensive. "Peace drives," the President points out, "can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer to the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all the peoples and makes the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible," and he adds in decisive words "*nothing else can.*" Hitherto these peace offensives have not been difficult to repulse. They were put forth by statesmen who were seeking to filch profit for themselves out of the peace sentiment of the world without intending to deal sincerely with the real obstacles to negotiation. But during the next few months these statesmen will really begin to bid for peace and they will bid high with the particular intention of provoking dissension among their enemies. It is this final possibility of an Allied defeat which President Wilson seeks to foreclose and which, as he said, can be foreclosed only by the adoption of his own programme. He declares with superb self-confidence that this programme expresses "the common will of mankind"—that in putting it forth he is neutralizing "the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs who still retain the impression they are playing a game of power"—that in assuring to the world a victory of justice he is also proclaiming a victorious emancipation for the mass of mankind. It is a prodigious pretension, but it is not made by a pretender. Who is the champion that dare deny its truth? It has become a people's war, without the aid of statesmen. But one supreme statesman is forging out of this people's war a people's victory and a people's peace.

The Case of Bulgaria

THE surrender of Bulgaria—for that is what the signing of the armistice amounts to—is more a moral than a military victory for the Allies. It cannot be believed that Bulgaria had come to the end of her physical means of resistance. Her losses in the recent fighting in Macedonia were heavy, and it is by no means certain that she could have extricated the western section of her army, cut off by the Allied forces pressing on toward Uskub. But even with that section lost, Bulgaria had at her command men enough to contest the passes leading to the Bulgarian plain. She sought peace partly because events on the western front, as well as the failure of the Teutonic Powers to send reinforcements into Macedonia, had convinced her that the war is going against the Quadruple Alliance.

But belief in an ultimate victory for the Allies would not in itself account for Bulgaria's precipitate laying down of arms. If she had believed that she would be dealt with according to the ancient rule of vae victis she would have managed to hold out until the general peace, hoping thereby to rescue some part of her cause. She surrendered, in the last analysis, because she accepted in full confidence the explicit or implied promises of the Allied governments to deal with the vanquished according to the principles of international justice. The Allies have, fortunately, no record of Brest-Litovsk behind them. Their condemnation of the iniquitous eastern treaties in itself implies that they will not deal in the extinction or mutilation of nations. It was to this new spirit of international justice that Bulgaria surrendered, "unconditionally."

What then are the final dispositions, political and territorial, that Bulgaria may anticipate? Certainly the reigning house will be shorn of its power to plunge the nation into war. Either Ferdinand will be forced to abdicate or he will be reduced to the position of a mere figurehead. Injuries inflicted in occupied territory in contravention of the laws of war will doubtless be made the subject of searching inquiries and drastic penalties will be imposed. But the poverty of Bulgaria will not be aggravated by ordinary military indemnities. She has forfeited her claim to Macedonia by her unprovoked attack upon Serbia. This means that a considerable Bulgarian population and a still greater population of Bulgarized Slavs will be lost forever to the nation. But even in this point the Allies will not be actuated by punitive motives, but by sound considerations of state building. Geographically Macedonia is an extension of Serbia, a continuation of the Serbian trade route to the Levant. A Bulgarian wedge cutting across the Vardar valley almost to the con-

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fines of Albania would be a perennial source of friction in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian Dobrudja, on the other hand, seized by Rumania during the second Balkan war on no better ground than the maintenance of the Balkan balance of power, may properly be returned. It is not now in Rumanian hands, but is held by Bulgaria as the gift of the Quadruple Alliance. Rumania, possessed by the peace conference of the true Rumanian territories in Bessarabia, Bukowina and Transylvania, will have no need of alien lands. Again there is a good reason why the Bulgarian border should be extended in Thrace to the Enos-Midia line determined upon by the Powers at the close of the First Balkan war. The Turk must be expelled from Europe, and Bulgaria's claim to Thrace is more valid, on national grounds, than that of any other people.

Such, we may assume, are the dispositions the Bulgarians have deduced from the principles embodied in the war aims of the Allies. Doubtless they were informally outlined in the discussions leading up to the signing of the armistice. To the extremists in the Allied countries, especially in Rumania and Serbia, they might appear unduly generous to a nation that has grievously sinned. But the more far-seeing statesmen of those countries will recognize that in closing the question of Macedonia, while validating the sounder claims of Bulgaria in the Dobrudja and in Thrace, the basis is laid for a peaceful development of the Balkan states. Bulgaria will not be left embittered by the loss of territory that is naturally part of her national domain. Rumania and Serbia are assured such accessions of territory and population that Bulgaria can never again hope for a position of predominance in the Balkans. Under such conditions it is not too much to hope that in time, when the wrongs and passions of the war are forgotten, the Balkan states may work all together toward a federation assuring their permanent prosperity and peace.

Palestine Redeemed

THE Turk is gone from the holy places. Step by step the British advanced out of Egypt through the land of Edom and the Philistine littoral, pressing the Turk northward until the whole tangled highland of Judea and the Plain of Sharon were cleared of the defilement of his presence. And now all Samaria and the Plain of Esdraelon have been liberated by the last great victory of General Allenby. There remain doubtless demoralized bands of Turks in the hills of Galilee, but they will soon have been hunted down. All the lands on this side of Jordan up to the boundaries of the Lebanon, where for two generations Turkey has held only nominal sway, will have been redeemed. And beyond the Jordan the remnants of the Turkish force are darting wildly about in Gilead and Ammon, seeking desperately an escape from between the British in the Hauran and their Arabic allies moving north through Moab. There is no way out for the Turks except over the deadly Arabian desert to the east. Whether they go out into the desert or remain to be made prisoners is all one to the world. They are thrust out of Palestine, and that stricken land will know their misrule and greed and cruelty no more. Alone of the conquering races that have swept over Palestine, the Turks have failed absolutely to take root in the soil or in the industry or trade of the country. To the end they have remained a garrison, an official corps, a band of licensed plunderers. In going, therefore, they leave no trace behind them except the devastation they have wrought.

The Turk will never be permitted to return. That is one of the conclusive results of the war. But with the Turk eliminated, what is to be done with the land? This is a problem by no means so easy of solution as most of us assume. Being more familiar with Judah and Manasseh and Naphtali than with the various sorts of present day Palestinians, Mohammedans and Christians and Jews, we take it for granted that the expulsion of the Turk means the restoration of the Biblical Hebrew state, Hebrew speaking, under the Hebrew law. Thus, we conceive, if the Jewish people will, the scroll of the Diaspora may be wound up.

But in arriving so promptly at the solution of the Jewish state restored, we are assuming that Palestine is practically an empty land, wasted and thirst stricken, but capable of being made fruitful as of old. Wasted it is, in fact, but far from empty. Even excluding the populous Lebanon, Syria contains an average of 34.5 persons to the square mile. The United States contains only 30.9: such a well settled state as Iowa contains 34.4; Wisconsin 30.6. Some of the Palestinians are Jews, but the great majority are Mohammedans and Christians. What shall be done with them, if it is proposed to constitute a purely Jewish state?

They are not nomads who can be invited to fold their tents and betake themselves to the Arabian desert. They are tillers of the soil, and the fields they till have been largely created by their labors. They are not newcomers who may be expelled as usurpers of the heritage of Israel. Some of them are the descendants of stocks that antedate Abraham, and even the later comers may have a thousand years tenure behind them. They are benighted, bigoted, and would prove resistant

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to any modern influence. But there they are, and they can't be assumed away. Whatever is done with Palestine, the rights of its native peoples must somehow be preserved.

Might we not, however, establish a purely Jewish state in a limited area, say the ancient lands of Judah? Even here we should find recalcitrant non-Jewish elements, but so far as the peasantry are concerned, they would doubtless be glad to remove to the Plain of Sharon or the Valley of Esdraelon, if they could be assured lands and security. But while such a solution might satisfy the aspirations of those Jews to whom Zionism is a religion, it would not possibly satisfy the aspirations of Jewish nationalism. If there is to be a Jewish state, they would insist, it ought to include all the lands of Israel: Samaria and Galilee and the territories east of the Jordan as well as Judea.

A far-seeing statecraft would indeed present even more extensive claims. The whole of Syria from the Taurus Mountains to the Gulf of Akaba and from the Mediterranean to the deserts of Arabia is only four hundred miles in length by less than one hundred in width. Much of it, besides, is rugged mountain and burning desert. Taken as a whole, however, it offers an adequate basis for a prosperous nationalism. Possibly Alexandretta and the adjacent lands would have to be excluded, as nothing more than a continuation of the Mesopotamian trade route. There would remain thriving ports like Beirut, Haifa, and Jaffa; Damascus with its skill in industry and trade; the rich wheat fields of the Hauran and the Plain of Esdraelon; the teeming pastures of the highlands east of Jordan, and the tropical exuberance of the Jordan valley. With peace and good order such an inclusive Syrian state could maintain five times the present population. There would be room for millions of Jewish colonists, without expelling any of the present inhabitants. Such a state, once completely organized, should be able to maintain itself as an equal member of the community of Mediterranean nations. It would be able to defend itself against the incursions of lean and energetic Arabian nomads who for thousands of years have terrorized the settled inhabitants east of the Jordan. But divide Syria and all hope of a nationalism robust enough for survival must disappear.

But it may be objected that such a Syrian state would not be the restored Israel of the prophets. It would be merely another secular state in which the Jews, if they chose to immigrate in sufficient numbers, might become the preponderant element. The nations would consent to its establishment only on condition that religious tolerance be strictly observed. It was not under such a condition that the ancient Jewish law flourished. Under it, would the Jewish law revive today?

Such an objection is well taken. But it is not the imperatives of prophecy that are impelling the Christian statesmen of England and France, Italy and America toward the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The statesmen of today recognize the validity and the value of nationalism. There are contributions to the common life of mankind that can not be required of the Jews so long as they dwell as aliens among more or less friendly peoples, restricted by law or custom to a narrow range of vocations, ever conscious of a separatist solidarity instead of the general solidarity of which members of a compact nation are conscious. As the dominant, even if not the exclusive element in a Palestinian state, the Jews may be expected to make important contributions to the art of government and social organization. It is this expectation that urges the application of statecraft to the creation of a Jewish state.

But the reasons that urge the creation of a Jewish state urge also the endowing of such a state with territory sufficient in extent and rich enough in variety of opportunity to make possible a high degree of national vigor. Palestine redeemed can do great things in the modern world only if the physical conditions of greatness are vouchsafed her. But with such conditions established, multitudes of the ablest descendants of Israel may be expected to return to their ancestral home, to organize a polity that may serve as an entrepot of political ideas between east and west. There is a chasm between the two worlds across which the peoples now view each other with deepening misunderstanding and distrust. Perhaps the chasm is destined to be bridged by Palestine redeemed.

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Coal—Why Not More?

EVERY strike, every threat of a strike, every rumor of a threat of a strike, in any coal-district, is big in the news. But it is usually very small by the time it reaches the final weekly report of the Geological Survey.

Twenty-four coal districts, comprehending the whole United States, send weekly statements of output to Washington. These statements tell you the theoretical "full-time output" of our mines, and they also tell you the percentage of "full-time output" lost by "car shortage," by "mine disability," by "labor shortage" and (in each district) by strikes. Take any week of this coal year. You will notice:

In most districts the percentage of output lost by strikes is nothing. In all the others it is almost invariably very small. In few districts, in any week, does it mount to as much as one per cent. In few districts, in fact, does it mount to as much as one-half of one per cent. A frequent figure is one-tenth of one per cent.

On October 25, 1917, the President issued an order with regard to strikes, an order based on an agreement between employers and employees in the coal industry. Whoever goes on a strike shall forfeit a dollar a day while striking, and his employer shall deduct this dollar from his wages. And whoever, being an employer, locks out his employees shall pay one dollar a day per employee while the lock-out continues. These penalties have been paid, into September of this year. Lump the strikes and the lock-outs together. Call them all strikes. Tie the blame for all of them to Labor. And what is the total of the accumulated penalties? It is $15,863.39. Which means a loss of less than 16,000 man-days, since October 25, 1917, by strikes.

It is an absolutely negligible loss in comparison with the losses caused by other difficulties. The Geological Survey, having recorded it by districts, does not even take the trouble to total it for the whole country. It is too trifling. The Geological Survey simply merges it into "labor shortage."

In the week of August 31st (the last week available at this writing), with "car shortage" totalling 11.2 per cent of "full-time output," and with "mine disability" totalling 3.3 per cent, and with "labor shortage" totalling 3.1 per cent, and with miscellaneous causes totalling 1.4 per cent, there were only six districts reporting strikes; and in the worst of these districts the time thus lost was seven-tenths of one per cent; and in two of them it was three-tenths of one per cent; and in three of them it amounted to one-tenth of one per cent.

Such figures should, but do not, and will not, silence the agitators who live in the offices of certain periodicals and who divide their time between denouncing class-hatred and denouncing the working-class. They will continue to incite class against class by charging the United Mine Workers with colossal crimes of which they are only infinitesimally guilty. And the official figures, collected from every mine-mouth in America, will continue unavailingly to tell them that they lie.

But "labor shortage" is a genuine thing. "Labor shortage" is the time lost to a mine because of "absentees" in its work-force. Count out the men who have been drawn off into the army and navy. Count out the men who have been drawn off into other industries. There remains "absenteeism." And there is rightful "absenteeism," as from sickness; and there is wrongful "absenteeism," as from drunkenness or waywardness; and there is debatable "absenteeism," as on Memorial Day.

In the week containing Memorial Day the "labor shortage" in the bituminous mines of the United States took a sudden rise. In the preceding week it had stood at 5.6 per cent of "full-time output." In the subsequent week it receded to 4.1 per cent. But in the week of Memorial Day, it was 15 per cent.

The next important holiday was the Fourth of July. By that time "absenteeism," even of the most debatable sort, and even possibly of the normally rightful and excusable sort, and certainly of the wrongful sort, had begun to give ground, inch by inch, before a gradually swelling wave of patriotism.

For this improvement the man chiefly responsible was Woodrow Wilson himself. He has one great administrative merit. Non-administratively, by pure effort of abstract thought, he has made this war so popular with all classes of people, rich and poor, belligerent and pacifistic, that the desire for utter efficiency in beating Germany leaps into personal private resistless action on every street in every hamlet throughout a hundred million people. His conception of the war conquered the miners, however unionized, however radical; and then a great machinery for the promotion of enthusiasm—speakers, posters, pictures, records of output, competitions in records of output—was set up and set going by officials of the Fuel Administration and by numerous employers in the National Coal Association.

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The Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, in the Central Pennsylvania District, was able to report:

In May the percentage of "absenteeism" among its employees was 20. In June it was 12. In July it was 9.

And holidays, official and unofficial, began to be honored in the breach.

Unofficial holidays are peculiarly popular in coal-mining towns. The whole coal-mining industry, in its management as well as in its work-force, is a holiday industry, an irregular industry, an "absentee" industry. Irregular markets, irregular orders, irregular supplies of cars, brought it about that at many mines a three-day work-week was a normal work-week. The work was absent from the worker, and the worker grew accustomed to being absent from the work. And he set aside for himself, in certain districts, a quite unusual number of days to be deliberate predestined holidays, orders or no orders, cars or no cars. And particularly if he was Scotch, he held to this predestination unswervingly.

This summer the seriousness of our times received a profound admission when the North Cambria Scottish Club at Barnesboro, Pennsylvania, abandoned its annual picnic — a policy adopted also by many similar organizations.

And the Fourth of July came. The Connellsville District is one of the most important in the United States; because it specializes in coal for coke for steel. On the Fourth of July, greatest of official secular holidays, the Connellsville District produced enough coal for enough coke for enough steel for twenty average-sized cargo-ships. And throughout the United States, in the whole coal-mining industry, the week of July 4th was a notable improvement on the week of Memorial Day. The "labor shortage" of the week of July 4th, instead of being 15 per cent, was 7.

And the Connellsville District (W. L. Byers, Production Manager) went on to further feats. On Labor Day it labored to 75 per cent of its normal daily labor and output, and in the week of Labor Day it produced more coal than in any other week of this coal year.

But the breach of Labor Day in the Connellsville District was exceeded by the breach of it in at least one other district. The Pocohontas and Tug River District in West Virginia (R. D. Patterson, Production Manager) went to work on Labor Day and dug coal to 95 per cent of normal.

Such spirit, the possibility of such spirit, had already inspired the National Coal Association to an idea—an idea of nation-wide coal-mining enthusiasm publicly standardized and publicly recognized and rewarded by honor. Through its Committee on Production (A. R. Hamilton, Chairman), the National Coal Association proposed to the Fuel Administration that it should organize a voluntary coal-mining National Service Army, badged and pledged, every man of it, to work eight hours a day and six days a week. It would have been an organization resembling, in principle, the Munitions Volunteers of Britain. Proposed by the employers in the National Coal Association, it was seconded by the leading leaders of the United Mine Workers, and it was approved by the production managers of the Fuel Administration and by the Fuel Administration's central office. All parties in interest, the representatives of the employers, the representatives of the employees, and the representatives of the coal-getting branch of the government, were agreed on it. They thought it would instantly enlist every strong-hearted miner in every mining town and then, by the draft of example, suck in the weak and wayward and hold them unanimously and enthusiastically to a definite and applauded duty. It was a promising idea; but it got rejected, after a month, in the highest quarters; and thereupon the National Coal Association proposed, acceptably, our present joint committees of "bosses" and of "men," local, mine by mine.

These committees are judges and publishers of all crimes against production, whether by "men" or by "bosses." Did John Smith fail to come to work when he could have come? Did he load dirty coal instead of clean? The committee is charged with the duty of "posting" him, on a public placard—on, as it were, the club bulletin-board. And did the mine management fail to provide John Smith with timbers, explosives, mules, motors, dry standing-room, fresh breathing-space? The committee is charged with the duty of "posting" the mine management. It will be as if the guinea pig in a laboratory got the chance of studying the "reactions" of the scientist. It will be one of the few experiments in industrial scientific efficiency in which the "men" are men. It ought to give us some certainly delightful and possibly highly valuable data on the efficiency of Capital as viewed by Labor, in an enterprise in which, for the moment, the ideal is not *profit* but *product*.

This device is our final pledge of our fullest possible devotion of all our resources of cooperative public and private effort to the struggle against both "mine disability" and "labor shortage"; and it brings us to "car shortage" and to the Railway Administration.

"Car shortage" at the beginning of this coal year was extreme. In the week of April 13th it was 18 per cent. It kept us—by itself it kept us—18 per cent below our "full-time output." As

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the summer came on, it changed, it bettered, rapidly. In the week of July 6th it was only 3.6 per cent. The signals ahead seemed white. But they flickered to red. Following the week of July 6th, "car shortage" again began to increase.

The Railway Administration is not backward in giving itself credit for its achievements. This is an age in which public money is lavishly used to proclaim the merits of persons in power. Public printing-presses, public press agents, public periodicals, sustained by taxes, are now engaged in producing millions of words of self-praise for office-holders in all countries. One of the first great reforms of the reconstruction period after the war should be utterly to abolish all this appropriating of state funds to personal puffs and partisan arguments. The Railway Administration, naturally, because of Mr. McAdoo's great energy and great decisiveness, and also because of the unification of railway operation, has been able to deserve credit, mightily. In the last coal year, up to the beginning of September of 1917, the railways of the United States moved some 6,500,000 cars of coal. In this coal year, up to the beginning of September of 1918, they moved some 7,000,000. Creditable, indeed; and quite enough to claim. Why claim more?

But "publicity" must have its way. The Railway Administration must "sell" itself to the country in competition with the Fuel Administration. And we get a "statement," a "release," worked up in the Railway Administration and promulgated to the press, as follows:

"Of late cars have frequently been supplied to the mines more rapidly than they have been able to fill them."

"*The* mines!" One sees the whole mining industry frequently getting more cars than it can load. Really, Mr. McAdoo should be on his guard against exhuming the journalistic methods of the Aircraft Board. The fact is, certainly, that cars have been supplied to *certain* mines, in *certain* districts, in *certain* weeks, more rapidly than they could load them, and their failure to load them was chargeable, usually, to "mine disability" or to "labor shortage." But, in every recent week, for the coal-mining industry as a whole, "car shortage" has continued to be the greatest of all the three great impediments to production.

And it is not diminishing, as the other two impediments are diminishing, at the time of the writing of this article. In the month of August there were five week-ends, five Geological-Survey reports.

The percentages of "mine disability" in those five reports were: 4.4, 4.2, 4.2, 3.9, 3.3.

The percentages of "labor shortage" were: 4.2, 3.8, 4.0, 3.5, 3.1.

The percentages of car-shortage were: 7.7, 10.3, 12.6, 9.9, 11.2.

In the last four of these five weeks "car shortage" was more important, was more disabling, than "mine disability" and "labor shortage" put together. In the fifth week, when "car shortage" was 11.2, "mine disability" and "labor shortage" put together were only 6.4. "Car shortage" was equal to both of them, in that week, and then equal additionally to 75 per cent of both of them.

And winter is near. And in winter it will be harder to control "car shortage" than to control "labor shortage" or "mine disability."

The conclusion is surely beyond dispute. In the strategy of coal the point especially to be strengthened, by every possible means, from now on to next spring, is the railway system. It was built and it was managed, this system, more for economy in the transportation of freight than for speed. Now, because of war, it must be re-arranged for speed.

Does Mr. McAdoo need more tracks at gateways like Altoona so that cars will flow through instead of jamming? Does he need larger repair shops, with larger forces of repairers, so that sick locomotives can get special personal care at any moment? Does he need deferred classification for every one of his employees having anything to do with the movement of coal? Does he need an apparently wholly unfair allotment of materials and of men?

If he does, or if he thinks he does, he has the solidest known claim on the special indulgence of the War Industries Board, the Federal Employment Service and the Provost Marshal General's office.

WILLIAM HARD.

The Super-Airman

WHAT makes the super-airman? By what strange physical and mental power does he overtop the general mass, skilful and daring fighters though they are, winning his fifty or his seventy victories, while so many of them struggle painfully for one? There is no doubt of his existence; the names of Boelcke and Richthofen, of Guynemer and Fonck, of Ball, McCudden and Bishop, all attest it. These men dominate the air in an epoch when the tactics of aerial combination are still rudimentary, and their individuality has had full scope to impose itself on lesser men. But how does it express itself? A little time since, it would have been difficult to answer the question,

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but so much has recently been written in England, France and Germany on the subject, that one can dimly divine the secret of genius in the air.

The keenest vision, everyone will say, must go to the makeup of the super-airman. Clearly it must, and if it be true that Captain Mannock had but one good eye, that one must have been incomparably good. Ball had remarkable eyes, and, says Brigadier General Higgins, R.F.C., "a kind of genius for seeing German machines." There is a coincidence here, for Richthofen in his autobiography writes of Boelcke that "he was of course the first to see it [an Allied squadron] for he saw a great deal more than ordinary mortals." From this exceptional vision partly springs the deadly accuracy of aim which is attributed to all the great fighting men and obviously with justice, or they could never have survived so long. Precision in firing is one of the two qualities to which the supremacy of Fonck, the present French "ace of aces," who has fifty-nine victories to his credit, is ascribed; skill in manoeuvring is the other. Guynemer, who was shot down last autumn near Ypres (and whose body and machine were scattered to the winds by shellfire so that no trace of them could afterwards be discovered) had not only a deadly aim but gave the greatest personal care, minute and affectionate, to his machine-guns. He had good reason, though he could exhibit an unparalleled boldness when his gun was disabled. On one occasion, when this had happened early in a fight with a two-seater, he continued the conflict, out-manoeuvred the enemy and eventually forced them to come to ground and surrender to him, whereupon he cheerfully displayed to them his useless gun.

But, after all, keen eyes and accurate aim are a common possession. As yet we are only at the fringe of things. The super-fighter, then, must be absolute master of his machine, at home with it and the medium in which it moves till he becomes almost a bird—"in such a machine," says Richthofen about the small chaser, "one can play any tricks one likes, for one can fly like a bird"—not only calmly confident but actually exhilarated by danger and mischance because of his firm conviction that he is and will be the master of every difficulty that can arise. All the great men answer to this description. Most of them are masters of the machine in a technical sense. Ball was a keen engineer and something of an inventor too; he worked hard to understand the aeroplane. McCudden began as a mechanic. Guynemer was a "pupil-mechanic" in his first phase. He collaborated with an engineer friend in the pursuit of the perfect aeroplane and spent his spare moments, when flying was impossible, in sitting in his machine, working the different parts and thinking out improvements. Once, he was making suggestions to some of the aeroplane-engineers, who turned their noses up at a "mere lad" giving them advice. "If you make a blunder," said Guynemer, "it's we mere lads who pay for it."

But the sense of mastery is much more than technical; it springs from deeper sources in the temperament of the airman. He seems to have a curious sensitive sympathy with his machine and a conviction that under all circumstances it can be made obedient to his will. "I love flying," said Ball, "when things are not exactly A1." On another occasion when he had had a bad smash he wrote to his sister, "You really would be surprised if you were in a smash. I just felt ripping—in fact it made me laugh." So also Richthofen—"in a flying machine one possesses a feeling of complete security. One sits as in an easy chair." It gave him a "glorious feeling" to be "master of the air." Some airmen possess what the experts of the service call "hands"—a sensitive and delicate touch in controlling the machine. Ball was one of these. Yachtsmen and horsemen for this reason make good aviators. German officer-airmen, it will be remembered, were for a long time drawn from the cavalry, Richthofen among them.

We are getting nearer to the secret now, but the chief clue is still to come. Above all, the super-airman is a fighter. He has an incomparable will to battle and to victory. Guynemer was contemptuous of his work as a bombarding airman, which had no power to slake his fever for fighting. Richthofen abandoned his function of observer in order to become a pilot. Nungesser, who succeeded Guynemer as the leading French "ace," though often wounded and twice rejected as unfit for further service, insisted on returning to the air. Ball, flying back to the front from leave in England, attacked and destroyed two enemy machines before reporting to his superiors. This passion for battle and the supreme confidence behind it explain the tactics of the super-airman. In smaller men their methods would be sheer foolhardiness. Boelcke, asked the secret of his successes, said, "I fly close to my man." Ball seemed almost to court collisions, with so impetuous a shock did he assail the enemy. The overwhelming violence of Guynemer carried him even further. On one occasion he actually grazed his opponent's machine and was lucky not to be sent crashing to earth; on another he passed over the enemy with eighteen inches to spare. But Guynemer carried boldness far into the realm of rashness. He was a man hard to satisfy. "Thrilling sport," he declared when he came down after being heavily shelled in the air, and he complained that many of the shells should have burst

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above his machine so that he could not have the thrill of seeing them. Richthofen strikes one as of somewhat different metal: masterful, audacious, dominating, but rather colder and more calculating.

At the finish the super-airman wins because, in addition to his eyes, his shooting, his tactical skill, his handling of the machine, his sensitive mastery in the air, he is a dominating personality, a will that harnesses all these qualities together in a fierce conviction that he is better than the other man and can destroy him. Sometimes they frankly avow the belief which their actions bespeak. Thus Richthofen, describing an enemy airman—"I said to myself, 'That man is lost.' Shouting aloud, I went after him." As he comes within range his excitement dies away and changes into a deadly settled calm. On another occasion, as he flew to the attack with his brother, "each of us felt certain that he was superior to the enemy." At bottom it is the fierce vitality, the passion and aggressive will of the super-airman that lift him above his fellows. These are the motive-power which drives him headlong to a close-quarter duel in which the aeroplane becomes the "flying machine-gun," as Guynemer loved to call it, and a cool judgment and keen eye complete the victory.

W. P. Crozier.

The Training of the A. E. F.

II

Army and Corps Schools

IT was during a visit to American Headquarters last December that I had my first chance to see the Army Schools—and to realize how broadly the American General Staff was building the foundations of its training system. The fine old French town, about which these schools are grouped, was bitterly cold that day; and very few students had yet assembled. One needed the guidance of an enthusiast, like the head of the training section, to realize that in a few months there would not be a spot in the fields that edged the white road winding back and forth up the long italianate hill, or in the whole wide-spreading countryside, which would not be alive with American officers engaged in the study of a large number of special aspects of the higher military science.

From the terrace of the barracks where the staff college was then located, my distinguished guide pointed out the sites of some thirteen different schools: here machine-gunners would soon be firing across a certain very blue reservoir; on that other hill, where an out-of-date fortress loomed, the engineers would have their headquarters; here would be the Anti-aircraft School—and so on. We were able to see with our eyes the first small class of the Staff College; barely enough typewriters, stoves, tables and chairs, to meet their elementary needs, had been collected—the director lamented that they would have to do their delicate map work in the long dark winter nights by the light of unshaded kerosene. When we drove out to the old fortress where the trench artillery school was supposed to be also in session, we found just two young second lieutenants overwhelmed by the sight of a staff colonel, and—in the long row of casemates beneath the fortress—one trench mortar. The lieutenants displayed it as if it had been a precious museum specimen.

When I went back to X— at the end of July, seven months after my first visit, I found some three thousand students in the Army Schools and more thousands of troops training in the area. These schools, as has been explained in an earlier article, are under the direct control of G. H. Q. and have two broad objects. The first is to train instructors for the Corps Schools, who will thus standardize the training throughout our army. Such instructors are trained in the Army Signal School with its many different branches—Telegraph, Telephone, Radio, Visual Methods, Carrier Pigeons, etc.; in the Army Infantry Specialist's School, with its three branches—Automatic Weapons, Musketry, Bayonet and Sniping, Trench Artillery; in the Army Pioneer Engineer School. The second object of the Army Schools is to train special officers who can be more easily and economically taught here in classes drawn from the whole army than if disseminated in smaller classes in the Corps Schools. Such specialists are trained in the General Staff College; in the Army Sanitary School where medical tactics—that is the method of handling field hospitals on the move, etc., as opposed to the technical and administrative side of the medical corps duties—are taught; in the Army Line School, where the tactics of small units to include the regiment are studied, and which also serves, in the case of students showing special aptitudes, as a feeder for the Army Staff College; in the Army Engineer School, which includes such advanced special branches as Camouflage, Mining, Heavy Bridge Building, Gas Warfare, Searchlights (Railroad Engineers have of course no need for training in France. The so-called

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pioneer work — wiring and trench digging — is taught with the divisions and road and bridge repairing at the Corps Schools). Other special schools are the Anti-Aircraft School; the Trench Artillery School—Trench Artillery is, of course, a divisional weapon; anti-aircraft is not: generally speaking, the Army Schools, as distinguished from the Corps Schools, teach the non-divisional weapons. The list of schools is always growing. My visit, for instance, fell on the day of the opening of a new one likely to prove very important—the Intelligence School. There are, besides, a Tank Centre where the whole organization of a Tank Company is trained; and a very large Candidates School—the same type exists with each division in the home camps—where after a three months' course non-commissioned officers qualify for commissions in the Infantry Signal Corps, and Engineers. The course at the General Staff College is also three months long; that of the other schools only a month.

It was of course impossible to see all these schools in action in one summer day, so the Commanding General, to whose courtesy I owe much, sent me first to what is the most important school from the point of view of our army: the General Staff College. Its home is a quaint old building, once a convent, I believe, close to the general's headquarters, which are situated, by the way, in a house which some rare architect of the French Renaissance must have greatly enjoyed building. If the officers at the Staff College had any time for archeology they could get their fill at X — but they are such a fearfully hard-worked and working lot that one doubts their spending many hours even in their own pleasant Gothic Club room on the top floor of the college.

The present class—which bristles with Majors, Colonels being fairly numerous, and Generals not unknown—is the third of the year and nearly 200 strong. Its staff of instructors includes six American officers, six British, and six French, besides a good many special lecturers from the front or G. H. Q. The great difficulty is of course to find American officers for instructors—our best experts are all needed in our increasing staffs in the field—but it is a difficulty that grows less every day. The class has two problems a week to solve, with lectures and conferences leading up to them—twenty-odd problems during the course, which are supposed to cover every possible phase of staff work; moving divisions, taking over areas, preparing an advance, etc. And these problems can frequently be proved on the terrain—here is the advantage of the concentration of these Army Schools in one area; Staff Officers can see many branches of the service functioning under their direct observation.

The same rule applies to other specialists. On the morning of my visit the Line School was completely empty; staff and students had gone out to the Trench Artillery School to see an attack with trench mortars, stokes mortars and one-pounders demonstrated by a considerable body of troops. I was told that if I should stay until evening I might watch a full-fledged night raid lacking in no particular of shells and gas. At the Tank Centre, to which we next went, the Captain in charge dwelt at some length on the problems he was able to work out, just as they are worked out at the front, in co-operation with infantry.

Every specialist at X—, including the Commander of the Carrier Pigeons, who was, I believe, secretary of a famous Pigeon Fanciers' Association in private life is of course sure that his specialty is going to win the war (if I only had space to describe these three thousand pigeons; the young already installed in their permanent homes, the "mobile pigeon lofts," in which they will journey to the front; the old birds with famous records which their soldiers know by heart). No one more so, however, than the Tank Captain, who demonstrated with fervor the superior qualities of his little armored pets, which were crawling in and out of shell-holes, crossing trenches, bearing down saplings, turning around on their own axis as neatly as cut-under buggies; and told us how invaluable they had been in the attack on the Marne as a supplementary barrage preceding the infantry, and as demolishers of machine-gun nests. We saw from his vivid description the company of fifteen tanks advancing by platoons of five—the first two abreast, the third following as support. These are the light tanks—our Heavy Tank Centre is elsewhere,—such as the French use, holding two men, a driver and a gunner, each of whom must be prepared to supplement the other. Consequently all members of the Tank Company must know not only how to drive the tank and how to shoot the gun, they must also be able to repair the engine and manage the signals.

Tanks are not, of course, divisional weapons; nothing of this sort is to be seen at the Corps Schools. The purpose of the latter, as a former article explained, is to give practical training in the latest aspects of warfare to officers and non-commissioned officers from the divisions, who after four weeks return to their units to pass on their information. There are two sets of Corps Schools —situated, of course, in widely different parts of the training area—now in full operation; the third will be well started by the time this article is printed. They all have the same programme: an Infantry Specialists School, a Signal Corps School, an Engineer School, a Machine-Gun School, an

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Aeronautical School for Advanced Observers' Training—the Corps Artillery School has been temporarily discontinued.

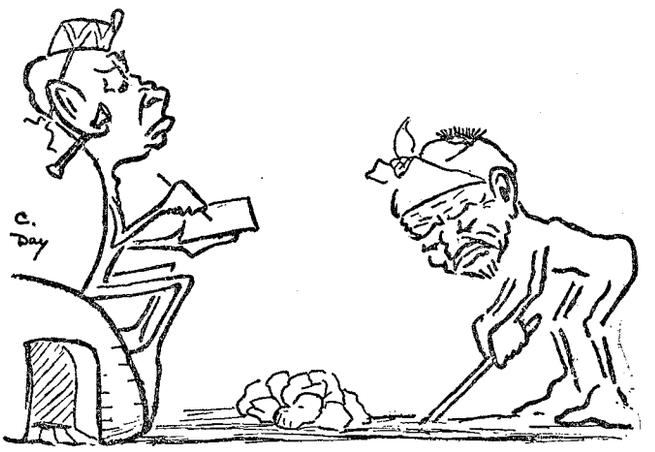
Though the Corps Schools are far smaller than the Army Schools—in the Second Corps School, when I saw it, there were about a thousand officers and non-commissioned officers altogether—the casual visitor cannot hope to see anything like the full programme. But the Director of the Infantry Specialist School, a West-Pointer, gave me a very interesting morning out on the hills near a town which was made famous during the first battle of the Marne. Several classes were in keen progress: one throwing dummy grenades; one firing stokes mortars under the general direction of a Captain of the Gordon Highlanders—almost a last survivor of this famous "Suicide Club"; one firing a 37 mm. gun under the direction of a French officer. The Highlander and the West-Pointer gave for my benefit an exhibition of stokes mortars, which are scarcely more complicated than a piece of gas pipe, can be picked up as easily as a baby and have yet proved, especially since the German attack of this spring, a most dangerous and powerful weapon. Thirty-five high explosive shells a minute can be fired by a stokes mortar, and it was largely with a similar German weapon, the grenadenwerfer, that the British first lines were completely wiped out in March. Henceforth, said the Captain, first lines will be held lightly. . . . The students fired a German mortar after they had demonstrated the other; captured German weapons of all types are studied here so that our troops may be prepared to use them as soon as they fall into their hands in the field.

Very rigid discipline is maintained in the Corps Schools, and the students are kept busy every second of their study time. That is all the more reason why the environment of their scant leisure hours should be made as agreeable as possible. Life is short these days, said the Captain, as he took me over the most delightful officers' club run by the Y. M. C. A. with its garden and tea-tables and long shady walks running down the river—walks that recall "Flirtation" at West Point, as he said.

Let us not forget—it is a subject of which the American public is only just beginning to realize the importance—that our army in France will achieve success just in proportion as its officers are highly trained. However brave our men—and no men were ever braver—they must not be allowed to risk their lives unnecessarily. They must not only take machine-gun nests but take them economically; not only endure gas attacks and make them, but do so without excessive losses. Even our endless millions would be washed away like the sands of the sea by enemy fire if our troops were not taught how to meet it with expert method. That is why our General Staff has created the Army and the Corps Schools.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT.

VERSE



Sic Semper Dissenters

In the town of Hottentottenville an aged Hottentot,
Whose name was Hottentotten-Tillypoo,
Was feebly hottentottering around a vacant lot,
With a vacant look upon his higgaboo.
Now "higgaboo" is Hottentot, as you may know, for "face,"
And to wear a vacant look upon your *face* is a disgrace.
But poor old Mr. Tillypoo, he had no other place,
Though I understand it grieved him through (and thru).

He was grubbing up potatoes in an aimless sort of way
(Which really was the only way he had),
And an officer was watching him to hear what he might say,
And arrest him if the thing he said was bad.
For it seems this wretched Tillypoo had gone and had the thought
That his neighbors didn't always do exactly as they ought;
And as this was rank sedition, why, they hoped to see him caught;
For it naturally made 'em pretty mad.

So the men of Hottentottenville, they passed a little law,
Which they called the Hotta-Shotta-Shootem Act,
Which fixed it so the postman was a kind of Grand Bashaw,
Who determined what was false and what was fact.
And the postman sentenced Tillypoo, and wouldn't hear his wails,
But kept him twenty years apiece in all the local jails,
And said he couldn't vote no more, and barred him from the mails,
And expressed the hope that *this* would teach him tact.

Well, the last I heard of Tilly, he was trying not to think,
And he'd tied a piece of string around his tongue,
And he never went within a mile of either pen or ink,
And he always stood when *any* song was sung.
And maybe you are thinking that his fate was rather tough,
But what I say is, not a bit, they didn't do enough;
When anybody differs with you, dammit, treat 'em rough;
Why, they ought to be bub-boiled alive and hung.

CLARENCE DAY, JR.

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Conditions in Russia

The following articles, written by a trustworthy correspondent, were published recently in the Berliner Tageblatt.

Since reports on political events and life in Russia are absolutely contradictory and unclear, we have sent our correspondent, Hans Vorst, to Russia for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of affairs. Hans Vorst, because of his personal connections and familiarity with Russian conditions and the Russian language, is especially equipped for such a mission, and possesses that talent so important under present conditions of observing calmly and judging objectively.

Moscow, July 19.

THE trip from Berlin to Moscow, which under the most favorable conditions requires three days, is not without fatigue, but looking back one can say that the journey is by no means so laborious and time-consuming as the settlement of formalities in Berlin necessary for the undertaking of such a journey. The trip to the east seems an interesting recreation in comparison with those experiences.

The first striking impression is received at Wirballen. A few months before the war I passed through this Russian station. As soon as the train stopped numerous Russian porters took possession of the baggage and the Customs House was soon occupied by an international public. Russian military and police officials with their martial beards and mustaches controlled the situation. There was also active life in the dining room. Russian vodka, caviar and all sorts of delicatessen and other luxuries were heaped up, awaiting the travellers to the eastern empire, but all that has long disappeared; Russian power and wealth are only a tradition now. The extensive railroad station, filled with soldiers and gloomily illuminated, looks like a barracks. Although six months have passed since the conclusion of peace with Russia, private travel is still extremely limited. German soldiers are seen everywhere in the station. The few natives are almost lost among the military. . . .

After a journey of two days, the line of demarkation is reached at Orscha. After a final revision of passports and baggage by the Germans, the baggage is loaded upon numerous peasant wagons; the passengers walk along beside them and proceed some distance through a wood to the railroad station on Russian territory. The Russian Red Guards stand watch before the toll gates here. Their only insignia are their guns. They don't ask for any passports into free Russia, for everyone is allowed to enter, but the baggage is investigated, principally for alcohol and playing cards, which must not be brought into Russia.

The railroad station looks like a refugees' camp. Numerous refugees from the occupied territories are camping there in terrible filth and confusion and are waiting patiently for a train to take them back home. People wishing to go to Moscow or other large cities must procure a special pass from the station master. Only with such a pass is one allowed to buy a ticket. An endless line of people was crowding before the ticket office. I saw that it would be impossible to catch the next train to Moscow by normal means. I had taken along a letter of recommendation to a border commissioner, a man well known to the Bolshevist world, but he could not be found. His station officials had not heard of him. "We have so many commissioners," they said; "perhaps you may find him in the city, but not here at the station." The station commissioner who made out the passports was a sailor and he knew how to write. I showed him my credentials as newspaper correspondent, and he readily gave me a passport to Moscow, with a special certificate allowing me to purchase my ticket out of the regular order. Thus I was able to catch the next train to the capital of the Soviet republic.

The trip from Orscha to Moscow presented an abundance of most interesting impressions. I strolled naturally from one coach to another and engaged in conversation everywhere. This was easily possible because the Russians are very informal, cordial and obliging. Thus I came into contact with representatives of the most diverse classes of society, the simple workingmen and peasant, as well as educated people and former officers. I hope to use the impressions of this journey in my future letters, but at any rate I was convinced again how insufficient the opinion is which can be formed at the present time by a foreigner on the situation and the feeling of the people in Russia.

Moscow, July 23.

The train goes slowly, very slowly, from Orscha to Moscow. It makes long stops at every little station, but it runs on schedule, and it is on time. The coaches are in good condition and even the gas illumination functions. After the disorderly and wild demobilization of the army was over, the exertions of the Soviet government succeeded in bringing a certain improvement into the absolutely disorganized railway system. On the way, I found out from a well informed source, that the Alexander railway which extends from Brest-Litovsk, and now from Orscha to Moscow, had secured its supply of fuel for the immediate future. The Alexander railroad has always used wood for fuel. I also found out from a man acquainted with the railroad administration, that the lines operated by naphtha and anthracite, were not so well off, for there is urgent danger that because of lack of fuel, these railroads will have to stop entirely or be greatly limited during the coming year. This would represent a severe crisis in the provisioning of the cities in spite of the good harvest. . . .

The train has, quite uncommunistically, one second-class coach and even one first-class coach. You make yourself as comfortable as you can. Boiling water is given to the travellers free of charge at all stations from kettles built into large brick stoves. Every traveller fetches a kettleful and prepares his own tea in the coach, chatting with the rest of his travelling companions. In my compartment were two men whom I immediately took to be Russian merchants. One of them was a wood dealer and the other a horse dealer. Both of them possessed the same intense hatred toward the Bolshevik government, to which they attributed all the guilt and misery in Russia. They spoke in a cautious and subdued voice and reported fabulous atrocities which the Bolshevik commissioners and soldiers of the red army are said to have committed. The whole system of the Soviet government was described as an oligarchy of terror and arbitrary rule which was only supported by the paid soldiers of the Red Guard. Its mismanagement was described as robbery and plunder with the sole object of enriching the Bolsheviki leaders. They said that the terrible dearth and lack of grain would vanish in a moment if the grain monopoly were replaced by free trade. The wood merchant, an energetic man, excitable in lan-

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guage and conduct, was especially bitter toward the government. I undertook to defend the Bolshevik government for the purpose of having him justify his views in detail, but in the meantime a young man in military dress, but without any insignia, took up a position in the aisle and was looking out of the window. The wood merchant wrote a few words on the edge of his newspaper and handed it to me with a meaning look and with an expressive glance at his silent neighbor. He had written on the newspaper, "you shouldn't dispute on the railroad train." He then remarked that espionage and treachery were at work everywhere and that every imprudent word could have the gravest consequences.

In spite of all this the man was not disheartened, but on the contrary showed how inexhaustibly capable the nation is of consoling itself with unbounded illusions even under the severest blows of fate. He thought that the war with Germany was not yet ended, and said a new government would be formed in Russia. It would proclaim a general mobilization and drive the Germans out of the occupied territory. But I could not lead him to give a clear answer as to what kind of a new government this would be; what policy it would pursue and how it would surmount the tasks of reorganization which were a prerequisite for the successful resumption of the war. In reply to this question you would receive a different answer from almost every opponent of the Bolsheviki government. They are only united in their opposition toward the Soviet government. Most of them clearly understand that a complete reaction would be impossible, and that no succeeding government could begin by simply annulling the social measures of the Bolsheviki without meeting with strong resistance among the broad masses of the people. Well informed persons often say that the nation will not succeed in overthrowing the Soviet government; for its opponents have as yet no organization strong enough to oppose successfully the Soviets and their military forces.

I should not mention the war-like illusions of my fellow traveler if they were not symptomatic. I met an officer formerly of the regular army, later in Moscow, who was now in the service of the Soviet government. He told me that in his opinion Russia would put an end to the war. He said it would soon show such a universal and powerful national revival that it would be able to realize the incredible and bring victory to the Russian standards. Thus the Russian people take refuge from their national humiliations in the world of dreams. I asked the officer whether he was a convert of the Bolsheviki party. He replied that he served only his Fatherland, and that he was convinced that Russia needed in the first place a new strong army, and he considered it his duty to do everything in his power to advance this aim. He said that that was the reason why he was now serving the Soviet government, but that he did not belong to any party. In reply to a question he said that about eighty per cent of the former officers' corps took this point of view. He expressed himself very cautiously and reservedly, but I gained the clear impression that he saw in the army which he hoped to create a force which would overthrow the Bolsheviki and replace them by a national government. In conversation with the Russians, you often have the feeling that you are touching upon some invisible threads of conspiracy and secrecy.

The bitterness toward Germany and everything German is quite general. Even upon my journey into Russia I had opportunity to feel this. A lady in my railroad compartment began to abuse the character of the Germans in a rude and tactless manner, although she knew that I was a German; but I had the rest of the fellow travelers on my side when I seriously and calmly refuted these abusive attacks.

At one of the stations, an elderly man entered the coach. He had a noble and venerable appearance and an intelligent and clear eye. We got into a very interesting conversation. He had attended a technical academy and was now occupying a position in a factory of considerable industrial importance. His duties led him to make frequent journeys and brought him much into contact with the people. He was absolutely opposed to the social idealism of the Bolshevik leaders, but not without objectivity and understanding. He regretted that a settlement had not been reached between the Bolsheviki and the idealistic intelligence of the upper classes in Russia. But now it was too late for that. The contrasts had become too great. He also considered that the Soviet government could not be permanent, but that the moment had not yet come for it to be overthrown. In his opinion, a constitutional monarchy would be the most suitable form of government for Russia. The veneration for Tsaristic government still had, he said, its roots deep among the peasantry.

I soon had an opportunity to put these views to test when I entered a group of plain peasants in a third-class coach. They would not listen to a return to Tsarism in any form whatsoever, and a very old peasant even said that the faith of the peasants in their Tsar had been absolutely destroyed, even before the revolution, by the endless deceptions and mismanagement of the Russian government.

One man among these peasants, about forty years of age, was a wideawake, intelligent person and able to read and write. He played a leading part in his district Soviet. He expressed himself frankly and vivaciously on the Soviet government. At first the peasants had greeted the watchwords scattered by the Bolsheviki with great applause. It was quite natural, he said, that the land should belong to them and that they should decide their own political affairs. But now, he said, dissatisfaction was universal among the peasantry. The necessary central organization was lacking to carry out the decrees of the local bodies and harmonize them with one another. It often occurred, he said, that the individual districts passed contradictory resolutions and thus the work was most seriously obstructed. He understood well that it was very difficult to set the new order of affairs in motion, especially in the country, but things were going too slow and therefore distress and dissatisfaction was increasing. They were not opposed to fixed prices for grain, if only other necessary things were to be had for fixed prices. But now, however, the peasant has to give up his grain at low prices, while he must pay ten-fold or more the former price for nails, leather, etc. Such conditions, he said, were impossible. The peasants were also not satisfied with the way the land had been distributed. It had been done too arbitrarily and without any order. It would have been far better if the Bolsheviki had surrendered this power to the general constituent assembly which could have regulated the land question uniformly for the whole empire.

When I asked the peasants whether they were not indignant at the confiscation of the church and monastery estates, they simply ridiculed me. They said, how should the peasants be indignant at a measure which they themselves were responsible for; it was very just, they said. The monks are parasites and the land belongs to the peasants who till it. The only bad thing about it was that the Bolsheviki were now ridiculing the clergy in their newspapers. The peasants said that the people loved their religion and needed their priests. The superfluous land should be taken from the clergy and the latter should be paid a suitable salary. They

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said it would be a nail in the coffin for the Bolshevik government, that it was now trying to agitate the people against the clergy.

Several peasants who got in along the journey brought the report that 30,000 peasants in the district of Smolensk had gathered to oppose requisitions by the Red Guard and had disarmed it. The report may be exaggerated; I could not check it up, but it is a fact and often registered in the Bolshevik press that uprisings are frequent here and there among the peasantry, but when the press represents that these uprisings are only the work of the so-called "Kulaki," or rich farmers, while the poor peasantry are faithfully devoted to the Soviet government, such reports may be regarded as fiction.

I intend to make a report later on the feeling among the working-class and Soviet circles. It is quite necessary to guard against making generalizations from individual observations, but even now I think I should say that the social basis of the Soviet government has shrunk during the last few months in a threatening manner. I intend to speak of the cause of this phenomenon. I only wish to state now that the Soviet government is just now, before the new harvest, passing through its hardest and most critical time. Judging objectively, it must not be denied that the government has performed a mighty work of organization in many fields, but the difficulties are overpowering and lie partly in the entire economic and political situation and partly in the system itself.

The Murder of the Tsar

Moscow, July 22.

It is striking that even up to the most recent date it was not the intention of the Central Soviet government to prepare for the dethroned Tsar the fate of Louis XVI. The Red Evening Journal, published by the central committee of the Bolshevik party in Moscow, recently reported that in the intended transfer of the Tsar from Omsk to Ekaterinburg, his life had been threatened by excited masses of workingmen. Yakovleff, a workingman, to whom the central executive committee of the Soviet had entrusted this transfer, prepared to defend the Tsar against attack and declared that as long as he lived no one would take the Tsar out of his hands. To prevent the excesses, Yakovleff took the train back to Omsk and stayed there until the government at Moscow had taken especial precautions to safeguard the transfer to Ekaterinburg. . . .

The zeal with which the central government tried to deny the reports of the murder of the Tsar, shows very plainly that it was not in favor of the resolution of the Soviet in the Ural district. These reports were characterized in the Bolshevik press at that time as provocative; now these provocative reports have become a fact. The chairman of the central executive committee has approved of this act and it has found unlimited recognition in the Bolshevik press. Nevertheless the Ural Soviet apparently placed the central government before an accomplished fact and the latter did not dare to disapprove of its action, for the Ural Soviet is its most important support in the struggle against the Siberian Slovaks, and the central government necessarily feared that a condemnation of its resolution would paralyze the revolutionary energy of the Soviet people in the Ural. Therefore, the sudden removal of the dethroned ruler without trial or without judgment—an act which was not even founded on any deeds of his but only on the danger that he might be abducted—is represented as the most natural and just act in the world and The Red Evening Journal writes: "The Russian people are gracious and magnanimous, that they have suffered for more than a year upon their free earth the greatest criminal of the most criminal government in the world."

There is no doubt that we can ascribe to the action of the Ural Soviet symptomatic importance. It is a sign of a certain restlessness and haste which seems to have laid hold of Soviet circles during the last few months and it can easily lead to far more terrible events. The Northern Commune, a newspaper published in Petrograd, begins a discussion of the event with the following quotation from a recent work of Arsenieff: "Mr. Lenine and his partisans have up to now only threatened the application of terror, in the sense given it by the history of the great French revolution. They do not see the immediate necessity of applying it now, for they consider themselves strong enough without this." This sentence was true a short time ago. But now this secure feeling of power does not seem to exist everywhere in Soviet circles and therefore the inclination to use blood-terror is rapidly increasing. The Northern Commune confirms the statement of this writer and continues: "The victorious proletariat is magnanimous and will not consider any barbarous action against its conquered foe, but there are moments where the application of terror becomes a necessity and where revolutionary force can maintain itself only by the merciless suppression of its enemies. And such a moment has now come."

The execution of Nicholas II is to be regarded as an evidence of this feeling in Soviet circles. The following sentence from a resolution passed by the recent fifth general Soviet Congress, proves that this feeling is quite general: "The fifth Soviet Congress resolves that all counter-revolutionary plots must be suppressed without mercy. The revolutionary proletariat and the poorest peasantry must answer these criminal plots with terror en masse against the middle classes." The Pravda, the central organ of the Russian communistic party, or Bolsheviki, published in Moscow, publishes an editorial based on these words and declares that the middle classes have not yet experienced terror en masse but now they shall feel it. And yesterday the same newspaper concluded its editorial with the threat, "Watch out you of the middle classes; you are just as mortal as the Tsar whom you have so passionately supported."

The next few weeks are a critical period. The social basis upon which the Soviet government stands has been rapidly narrowing down during the last few months. Its position in foreign politics is between the two hostile groups of powers. It wishes to seek no support from either side and it gets none. It stands as it were, between two fires. Within its own territory it has not been able to force the numerous strongholds of counter-revolution to surrender or even successfully to oppose them. It has many adversaries within the country; dissatisfaction is increasing and its ardent followers are apparently no longer numerous. . . .

The Ural Soviet considered that in the execution of the Tsar it was strengthening the Soviet government, but it has been deceived. Of course, a revival of monarchistic tendencies cannot be expected. Tsarism is dispatched once and for all and even martyrdom cannot give it new strength. There are educated and well informed Russians who still believe in the legendary faith of the Russian peasants in their Tsar. But in my talks with the Russian peasants I could find no confirmation of this faith. On the other hand The Red Evening Journal is wrong in stating, "There is surely no one among the Russian people whose heart was moved at the news of the death of the former Tsar." The same is true of a statement in the Isvestia: "The broad masses of the working classes, the millions of workingmen and peasants, will receive the news of his

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death, if not with a sigh of relief, at least with complete indifference."

For the broad masses of the Russian people, the Tsar was long dead and even by his tragic end no sympathy can be revived for him. Nevertheless this report did stir the masses beyond doubt, for the Russian people are kind and have a very sensitive feeling for justice. They regard the execution of the Tsar, judging from remarks I have heard, as a useless and unjustified barbarity. And, in spite of the present immediate sufferings and trials of the people, which are so hard that the person of the former bearer of the crown can occupy but an insignificant part of their attention, this act will be ascribed to the debt account of the Soviet government by the majority of the Russian people.

A Meeting of the Central Executive Committee

Moscow, July 30.

Sunday, July 28, the Isvestia, the official organ of the Soviet government, published the unexpected announcement that a general extraordinary meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of all Russia, the Moscow Soviet of the workingmen and representatives of the Red Army, as well as delegates of the unions, would take place. This unusual announcement showed that it was to be an especially important meeting. The sole point of business announced was "the present situation." The subject and programme of the meeting were enveloped in a certain mystery. I found out, however, that Lenine and Trotsky would speak and I procured the necessary ticket for admission.

The beginning of the meeting which was to be held in the Soviet theatre, formerly the Cinema theatre, was scheduled for two o'clock. I calculated upon a certain amount of delay and arrived at 2:45. The building was surrounded by soldiers of the Red Army which kept the public on the opposite side of the street and controlled the admission tickets. I received an excellent seat in a stage box on the parterre, which, with the neighboring boxes, were reserved for the press. Reporters, however, did not appear and the reserved boxes were soon occupied by representatives of the workingmen. . . .

Several rows of chairs were placed upon the stage, and before these a long table for the Executive Committee and a little table for the speakers, both tables covered with scarlet cloth. But here everything was still empty and no move was made to begin the meeting. The time passed slowly and there was sufficient opportunity to examine the revolutionary public which was patiently waiting for coming events. Many picturesque characters were present. I saw a man of gigantic stature walking back and forth in the aisle with his black silk shirt open and his breast uncovered. His face was pale and smooth shaven, and a rich abundance of raven black locks flowed down upon his shoulders. Women were also present. Many of the audience wore the garb of the middle classes, but the great majority of the deputies, men as well as women, were typical representatives of the Russian proletariat and dressed in their every-day working clothes. Down in the middle of the parterre among the Soviet deputies, a little blonde boy of about eight years was sitting. His father had apparently brought him to the revolutionary assembly because he did not wish to leave him at home alone.

There were notices all over that smoking was strictly forbidden, but revolutionary discipline disregarded this command. The people just had to smoke to pass the time away. Upon my left sat a type-setter with absolute Bolshevik tendencies. He tried to prove that the only way out for this world was a general revolution of all civilized people. He declared that his union was the most conservative of all the unions. But he did not deny that there was among the working-class an increased dissatisfaction with the Bolshevik government. He declared that the reason for this was due to the difficulties in providing the masses with food, and thought that the dissatisfaction would vanish as soon as the new harvest should improve conditions. My neighbor on the right was a workingman in a rubber factory and one of the discontents. He said that he was a member of no party, which is typical of the lack of programme among this class. By the way, there are over fifty deputies in the Moscow Soviet who are members of no definite party. He complained that in the conference of the factory committees the Bolshevik delegates had a determinative voice while the members of no particular party had only a deliberative voice. The Bolshevik on my left declared that it was quite right and that this was no violation at all, for it was a shame, he said, if the workingmen delegates, after eighteen months' of revolution, did not know what party they should stand by. Such people, he said, were not mature enough to decide questions.

Finally the rows of chairs on the stage became filled. From appearances these men seemed to represent the intelligent classes in Russia. The stage was now illuminated and also the theatre in general. Army soldiers could be seen in all the aisles. Back of the scenery half visible, were strong guards. The conspicuous head of Avanessoff, the secretary of the Central Executive Committee, stood out at the president's table. Seated beside him was the gray-haired Sverdloff, the chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Finally the stooped figure of Trotsky appeared in conversation with the youthful Sverdloff, president of the Central Executive Committee. Trotsky was easily recognized by his high forehead and sharp pointed chin. A considerable pause ensued.

Suddenly there was a spontaneous and loud applause. A little man, excited and agile, moved across the stage and took his seat in the crowd of his faithful. His head was bald and disclosed a remarkably round skull; otherwise there was nothing especially striking in his appearance. He was clad in a soft shirt and thin dark summer coat and wore a blond beard. He had all the appearances of a member of the middle class. It was Lenine, the undisputed leader of the proletariat revolution in Russia.

The meeting was opened at 4:45 by Sverdloff, but without a word of explanation for the great delay. Such things are apparently quite ordinary. In a few words he pointed out the dangers of the present moment and then introduced Lenine.

Lenine stepped to the speakers' table and began to speak. His first sentences were somewhat halting and heavy, but soon he got under way and spoke more clearly; he was fluent and vivacious, without much external effect but with more and more effective internal agitation. A sort of controlled pathos pervaded his soul. He used many gestures in speaking and kept walking a few steps forward and backward. Remarkably deep and irregular wrinkles formed upon his brow and seemed to give evidence of an intensive pondering, an almost tormenting labor of the intellect.

He spoke for an hour, but his speech was not printed and I can give the contents here only in outline. He pointed out that the Soviet government had always considered the last two weeks before harvest as the most difficult and threatening period. This time was now at hand, and dangers were increased because of the new campaigns set

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in motion on Russian territory against the Soviet government by Anglo-French imperialism. This danger, he said, was under-estimated at first, but now it was clear that the Soviet government had to deal with an extensive and long prepared plan of attack. While German imperialism, thanks to its geographic position, could penetrate directly into the territory of the Soviet government, Anglo-French imperialism, relying upon its historical methods, was using foreign auxiliaries. It had found upon Russian soil willing auxiliaries who had always supported every movement in Russia directed against the Soviet government. Anglo-French imperialism, he said, was pursuing a double aim. In the first place it intended to choke the hearth of socialism represented by the Soviet republic and then to draw Russia again into the war against the Central Powers. Anglo-French imperialism, in pursuing these two aims, was doing so, he said, in harmony with all the representatives of counter-revolution, from the extreme right to the traitorous part of the radical Social Revolutionists. Lenine made known the sensational report that Anglo-French imperialism had succeeded in accomplishing a new effective stroke. It had succeeded in obtaining in the Soviet of Baku a majority of thirty votes against the Bolsheviki and their supporters, in favor of a resolution to call English troops to the protection of Baku against German imperialism. The situation in the Caucasus was critical, but the falseness of such pretended protection had been sufficiently shown by history.

After everything that had happened it must be said that the only Russian party which had never come to an understanding with the imperialists, though it from force of circumstances had retreated before their attacks, was the party of the Bolsheviki-Communists. "Our government, the Soviet government, has never had connection with the imperialists, neither the German nor the Anglo-French. It does not have any such connection now, and will not have as long as it exists."

Lenine continued: "A hard and humiliating peace has been forced upon us by Germany, and in the territories occupied by Germany the Soviet government has been everywhere removed. However, at the present moment, the danger for Russian socialism comes rather from another imperialistic group. Germany has never raised any objection to the abolition of the private ownership of land. Therefore, in this direction the possibility still exists that the torch of socialism will at least be kept burning upon the confined territory of the Soviet government." He said that Anglo-French imperialism was now threatening the Soviet government on a large scale by landing troops on the Murman coast, by stirring up and supporting the Czecho-Slovak uprising, the counter-revolution in Baku and Turkestan and the bands led by Alexeieff in the south, and it was thus trying to forge an iron ring on the eastern front for the purpose of choking the Soviet republic and setting up a new front against Germany upon Russian territory. Whether this plan was to be successful was an immediate and vital question for the socialistic Soviet government of the Russian people.

Lenine spoke of the profound exhaustion and war weariness of the Russian people, which had been the cause for the signing of the peace of Brest-Litovsk. "But there is no need for deceiving ourselves," Lenine cried out, with strong emphasis, "against our will, war is again at hand. We are standing in the midst of war and in this war the fate of the Russian revolution will be decided. Therefore all exertions must be made to subdue and overcome the war weariness of the Russian people. It has happened, as for example, in Simbirsk, that the forces of the Red Army have withdrawn, though they were stronger than the force of the Czecho-Slovaks. But the fateful plan of Anglo-French imperialism can be frustrated only on condition that its most dangerous auxiliaries, the Czecho-Slovaks, together with their counter-revolutionary Russian partisans along the Volga in the Ural and in Siberia, can be destroyed, and the ring which is forming about us eventually shattered. This is at present the most important and urgent task of the Russian revolution. The socialistic organization of the Soviet republic has made advances during the last months beyond all expectation and we cherish, of course, the wish to continue this work. All other aims, however, must now be secondary to this most important one and all our forces must be dedicated to war."

After Lenine had finished talking amid loud applause, Trotsky stepped to the speakers' table. Lenine had discussed the theoretical basis of the political situation, while Trotsky, the commissioner of war, developed the necessary practical measures. He too is an excellent speaker. His speech is more concise, sharp and accentuated and, perhaps, somewhat less interesting than Lenine's. He stated the well-known fact that Ekaterinburg had been lost. The Soviet forces which could be sent against the Czecho-Slovaks would be two to three times their numbers. But this is not enough. The Czecho-Slovaks who have been led astray by their officers, have the firm conviction that they must win or die. The Soviet troops must oppose them with this same war spirit. In order to arouse this spirit the best leaders of workingmen should now be sent to the front as agitators and organizers. Thundering applause greeted the statement that the Petrograd Soviet had already concluded to send one-fourth of its number to the front for this purpose. He said that the Soviet troops also lacked necessary leaders. The Russian officers' corps was counter-revolutionary. The hour had come to subdue it with an iron hand.. To begin with, concentration camps might be erected for those Russian officers who did not wish to serve the Red Army honestly; but others who had entered the service of the Soviet government were often unreliable. Cases of treason were not rare. The fault of this, he said, lay in part with the war commissioners, who had not shown the necessary vigilance. "Let us place beside every officer, with power of command, war commissioners, armed with revolvers" (Trotsky accompanied his words with short gestures as if he were setting a post in the ground). "The officer should not take one step without being watched. As soon as he vacillates, he must be shot down on the spot. (Loud applause.) Military conscription should be extended among the workingmen. The working classes must make their compact with death, then they will have made their compact with victory also."

After Trotsky's speech, Sverdloff urged the assembly to pass, without debate, a resolution presented by the Bolsheviki. The resolution read by a woman, Teodorovitch, declared that the socialistic fatherland was in danger and resolved upon a series of measures for ridding the Volga, the Ural and Siberia of counter-revolutionists, and threatened the middle class again with terror en masse. The resolution was passed unanimously. Its effect was, however, somewhat weakened when Sverdloff made the concluding remark that it should not only be on paper, but should be translated into acts. The assembly rose and sang the Internationale in resounding chorus.

The Soviet Government and the Czecho-Slovaks

Moscow, August 2.

In my last report I described the meeting of the central executive committee, in which it was declared that the so-

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cialistic fatherland was in danger, and Lenine emphasized the fact that the Soviet republic was in an evident state of war. Still it was unclear whether this state of war was directed against the Entente Powers. In the declarations then made by Lenine and Trotsky, and in the subsequent outbursts in the Bolshevik press, the greatest importance was laid upon proving that the action of the English on the Murman coast, the Czecho-Slovak movement, the uprisings led by Krasnoff and Dutoff, and the counter-revolutionary movements within the country, all represented a large unitary plan conducted, supported and set in motion by the Entente governments. And in a proclamation which the council of the commissioners of the people sent "to the working masses of France, England, America, Italy, and Japan," on the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, the statement was clearly made and established in detail that "the Entente governments are already carrying on military operations against the Russia of the workingmen and the peasants." But the Soviet government hesitates to draw a final conclusion unless we may see such a conclusion in the remark contained in the proclamation that the Russian government will answer every blow of the Allied usurpers with two blows in return. The military counter-action of the Soviet government, for which all forces are being collected, is to be directed first of all against the Czecho-Slovak movement, which is regarded at present as representing by far the most urgent danger. The Soviet government apparently hopes to destroy in this way the supposed plan of the Entente governments, and yet avoid an ostensible state of war with the former allies of Russia.

At any rate, the tactics pursued heretofore of not representing the situation as too threatening have now been abandoned, and in assemblies as well as in the press continued cries of alarm are being sounded. In consideration of this, I have attempted to obtain a clear picture of the situation along the inner front, and especially that held by the Czecho-Slovaks, as far as such a thing is possible from reports of the press and extensive questioning of well informed people.

First of all I should like to state that I have learned the following regarding the strength of the Czecho-Slovaks from the field division of the department of war: The Czecho-Slovak corps contained originally about 75,000 men. Since the beginning of the uprising it has been considerably augmented by enlistments of Serbians, and a part of the Cossacks, but especially of elements opposing the Russian revolution. These united forces can be estimated now at approximately 300,000 men. The Soviet troops which can be sent to oppose them are at present somewhat inferior to this number, but considerable forces are on the way to the front, so that, as Trotsky remarked in his last speech, the proportion will soon be reversed. Up to now the Czecho-Slovaks have had a considerable advantage in that they have a far superior cavalry force at their command. The Soviet government is said to be doing all in its power to equalize this advantage of the enemy.

At present the Czecho-Slovaks control the valley of the Volga with the cities Syzran, Samara and Simbirsk. Now they have taken up a position north of Simbirsk on both sides of the Volga about 90 versts south of Tetushi. To the west they stand 20 to 30 versts from the line Simbirsk-Syzran. On the southeast they have succeeded in making a union with Dutoff's force along the line Samara-Orenburg. Orenburg, I am assured, is itself still in the hands of the Soviet. Dutoff's division is standing east of Orenburg and east and south of Uralsk. It is unknown who is now occupying the latter town. Dutoff's troops consist in general of large or small detachments. There exists no connected front here.

Three Soviet armies are operating against the Czecho-Slovak troops concentrated along the middle Volga. The southern one is supporting itself on the railroad Saratoff-Uralsk and operating in the direction of Syzran with the purpose of uniting with groups to the west of this city. It is also the task of this southern army to cover the rear against Dutoff's forces, but the army is at present not conducting any offensive operations in this direction. The second or west army stands to the west of the railway centre Insar, and plans to unite with the north army operating on both sides of the Volga by a move of encirclement north of Simbirsk. Besides these three armies various Soviet detachments are operating north of Simbirsk.

Besides occupying the valley of the Volga, the Czecho-Slovaks control the entire network of railroads uniting European Russia with Western Siberia. With their base at Cheliabinsk, they captured Ufa over a month ago and established a firm connection with their forces on the Volga. The recent occupation of Ekaterinburg took place from the base Cheliabinsk. Now they control the southern Siberian line, which extends from Syzran and Samara via Cheliabinsk to Omsk, as well as the northern line from Perm via Ekaterinburg and Tiumen clear to Omsk. The connecting line of these two railroads (Ekaterinburg-Cheliabinsk) is also in their hands, with the branch to Shadrinsk.

The headquarters of the Czecho-Slovak and anti-Bolshevik Siberian government is in Omsk, the railroad centre, from which the great Siberian railroad starts for Vladivostok. The situation along the Siberian railroad east of Omsk is at present not fully understood, since Siberia has been cut off from Russia for over a month. The report has been spread that the Czecho-Slovaks have obtained possession of a great part of the main line in Siberia. But about a week ago news arrived via Tashkent that this was not so, and that Tomsk, Barnoul, Semipolatinsk, Krasnoyyarsk and Irkutsk are still in the hands of the Soviet. Vladivostok is apparently in the possession of a Czecho-Slovak detachment, sent there before the beginning of the uprising.

Since the Czecho-Slovak troops were sent to Vladivostok before the outbreak of the uprising, it must be assumed that some Czecho-Slovak detachments are posted along the railroad. But from the above-mentioned reports they do not hold the main points, and here in Moscow it is the opinion in well informed circles that the detachments are only weak and can be held in check by the local Soviets. Nevertheless, it is easy to draw the conclusion that these scattered detachments could assist effectively in the occupation of the Siberian railroad in case of a Japanese intervention. . . .

From these facts it is clear that the danger threatening the Soviet republic from the Czecho-Slovaks is very grave. This danger is quite immediate, as is clear from the successful offensive of the Czecho-Slovaks and their occupation of Simbirsk and Ekaterinburg. Added to this is the fact that the food situation and provisioning of the Soviet republic is extremely critical, because the grain supplies of western Siberia are cut off from European Russia, and even in case of very successful operations by the Soviet troops there is hardly any possibility that the way to western Siberia will soon be opened.

Furthermore, the successes of the Czecho-Slovaks stimulate all counter-revolutionary forces in Russia. Only upon this basis can the repeated uprisings in numerous Russian

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cities like New Rome, Nijni Novogorod, and Saratoff be explained, some of which, like the recent one in Yaroslav, spread to a considerable extent.

At the same time the forces of the Soviet government are so occupied by the struggle with the Czecho-Slovaks that the almost subdued rising of the Don Cossacks, headed by Krasnoff, has now been allowed to develop again and spread to the district of Kuban. Likewise the line of posts extending to Turkestan, via Samara and Orenburg, has in part fallen into the hands of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Dutoff Cossacks. In Turkestan, which has always been firmly in the hands of the Soviet government, extensive new rebellions have now broken out, and the Soviet government is at present not able to lend any assistance to its followers there,

Finally, the fear is now openly expressed in the Bolshevik press that the Entente may yet succeed in restoring with all these auxiliaries an uninterrupted anti-Bolshevik, and at the same time anti-German, front in the east. The Entente is said to have only a few thousand troops on the Murman coast, where it has up to the present occupied Murmansk, Kem and Soroki, but yesterday a report came that the English had already occupied Onega. On the south front the Soviet of Baku is threatening to call the English into the city. Thus points of vantage and support are being established in the north and south, from which, as the Soviet followers fear, the Entente is to lend a hand to its followers, the Czecho-Slovaks and the Russian counter-revolutionists.

The alarm now being sounded by the Soviet government is coming very late indeed. And even if a new eastern front cannot be so easily established upon the gigantic expanse of Russian soil, yet the Soviet government is not saying too much when it declares that in the battle against the Czecho-Slovak movement it is a question of the life or death of the Soviet government.

The Russian Working Class

Moscow, July 26.

In my last report I quoted remarks from various representatives of the Russian middle class and peasantry. Of course, it could not from the very beginning be expected that the middle classes would conduct themselves otherwise than completely in opposition to Bolshevik rule. This is, indeed, quite natural among the land-owning and capitalistic classes. The Russian educated classes had, however, a traditional inclination toward socialism. During the work of decades they have shown close sympathy for the life and fate of the lower classes of society, and they possess far more social idealism and spirit of sacrifice than the more disinterested, educated, middle class in Western Europe. Therefore a certain understanding and sympathy for the extensive social experiment of the Bolshevik government was natural to them on principle, in spite of the faults and terrors of such government. Indeed you can often hear educated Russians say that they are not opposed to the aims and ideas of the Bolsheviki, but only to their methods and practices. The more profoundly you study the process of the Russian revolution and the more intimately you become acquainted with it, the greater is the conviction of the internal necessity of events. Therefore, the methods and practice of the Bolsheviki, as I shall show later with concrete examples, could not for definite reasons be much other than they are. The Bolsheviki are not acting as they would like, but they are acting as they are obliged to act upon the basis of given conditions and presuppositions. Thus the historic course of the revolution, the process by which the Bolsheviki attained power, necessarily brought the Russian middle class into decided conflict with the Soviet government, and this was bound to increase in the course of time.

Therefore, it is not at all surprising that you hear among the Russian middle classes bitterly hostile remarks about the Bolsheviki. It is, however, remarkable that in spite of this hostility, you can occasionally hear a word of recognition. I met an old man studying the new Soviet constitution. He had formerly been a retail dealer who had passed his life in restless and successful activity, and who was now suffering severe losses through the Bolshevik era. He told me that the fundamental thoughts of this constitution were entirely in accord with his sentiments and that if it were possible to force the people to work by this means and to make labor the criterion of value as citizens, it would be a real blessing for the Russian people, whose rich talents were being checked by a natural inclination to laziness.

In his branch, namely textile industries, he said that the Bolsheviki have already accomplished a great work of organization. Their leaders show extreme industry and are zealously endeavoring to learn from practice, and to perfect their measures so that they may gain the sympathy of others. They could surely do this, he said, if they ceased inciting the different classes of the population against one another and terrorizing their adversaries. . . .

It was more surprising for me to see how the opposition toward the Bolsheviki was increasing now among the peasantry. Even on my trip to Moscow, I had opportunity to be convinced that the foremost social mainstay of the party now in control, namely the working class, was no longer absolutely and unitedly supporting the Bolshevik leaders. A young working-man of energetic temperament got into the train and I began a conversation with him. He was playing a leading part in the working-men's committee of his factory, had recently been to Moscow on business connected with this committee and was now on his way to Moscow again. He told me that in his home, a large provincial city, a considerable number of workingmen had turned away from the Bolsheviki. He too had much against the Bolsheviki on his mind, but I shall not discuss that here. The movement of opposition among the working-class was, according to him, due especially to the severe present distress, and to the faults in economic organization resulting principally from the fact that the Soviet government lacked the necessary number of suitable and efficient workers. "There are everywhere in our city certain people who are devoting their entire strength to the socialistic cause with remarkable enthusiasm and sacrifice, but their number is everywhere small and they are overburdened with work. Besides them, however, there are others who are either not equal to their task or who are pursuing purely personal aims and thus injuring the Soviet government practically and morally." In reply to my question whether the Bolsheviki could maintain themselves if they should be deserted by the workingmen, he said that it was quite probable that the Bolshevik government was facing destruction, but that this could not be expected very soon, for the Bolsheviki were still too strong; especially in the large cities they had concentrated all power in their hands, and they would defend themselves to the extreme if need be.

In Moscow, too, apparently a considerable part of the working-class has deserted the Bolsheviki or begun to waver. I was riding on a street car when a troop of Red Guard cavalry passed by. An elderly working-man standing beside me on the platform pointed at the cavalry and

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said in a scornful tone, "Tovarishchi!" This word has a double meaning of "comrade" and "fellow workingman." It can often be heard now and is really the customary and likewise honorable term of address among the Russian socialists and proletarians, but absolutely proletarian people use it also as a hostile or scornful collective designation for the followers of the Soviet and especially the Red Guard. This is one sign that the credit of the system with which this expression is symbolically connected is becoming quite shaky, and that there is a clear contrast developing between the army force of the Soviet government, namely the Red Army, and the proletarian masses, from which it draws its recruits. My neighbor, a typical working-man, told me that the great majority of the working-men in this union, perhaps eighty per cent, were already against the Soviet government, but they did not dare to show their views openly and unitedly.

I should like to mention one more conversation with a subordinate employee in one of the Soviet institutions. This man was not originally a working-man but a peasant from the district of Tver. He was one of those numerous peasants in the northern districts who go to work in the factories because they cannot find suitable work in the country, and who, now, because of their activity, are in close connection with the working-classes. This surprisingly intelligent man spoke with absolute bitterness of the Bolshevik regime. When our conversation touched upon politics he mentioned that this was a subject which should be treated with the greatest caution, but he did not have the strength to conceal what he felt in his heart. He said that he was originally a passionate and convinced Bolshevik, for the Bolshevik ideas had been received everywhere among the lower classes with enthusiasm, but now a mighty receding wave was carrying the people far away from Bolshevism. This wave could be strongly felt among the working classes. In the villages there was no one now who any longer represented himself as a follower of the Bolsheviki. The decisive fact for this man was first of all the national factor. While he spoke you could notice how much his soul was suffering under the national humiliation of the Russian people, and with what violence he disapproved of the policy of the Bolsheviki, which had allowed such humiliation. His Russian heart rose in indignation against the fact that so many men were occupying responsible positions in the Soviet government who were not native Russians, and that this government was being supported in high measure by troops of foreign stock namely Letts. "If you examine the situation closely you will see that it is not a Russian but a foreign government. It is impossible and unbearable that such a government should at this fatal time make decisions which are of immeasurable and perhaps unchangeable importance for the national future of Russia." The feelings of this man rose indignantly against continual civil war for which he made the Bolshevik policy responsible. "We wanted universal peace and instead of that we now have civil war."

The leaders of the Bolsheviki are, beyond doubt, trying to exert all their strength and intelligence to realize what for decades has represented the highest ideal and longed-for aim of the leading part of the proletariat. If now, in spite of this, a strong movement is noticeable among the working-class to desert this government, the reason for it is in part to be found in the national indignation toward the peace of Brest-Litovsk and its consequences. Events which I explained at Easter would occur, have occurred now. The fact that the Russian people left the trenches and in an elementary manner brought about peace which it then wanted at any price, does not now prevent it from complaining, even though it has that peace. Certain provocative reports busily scattered by the opponents of the Bolsheviki and readily believed by the people are moreover playing a considerable part. For instance, it is said that the Bolsheviki have been bribed by the Germans and are exporting grain, guns and gold to Germany in great quantities, while the Russian people are starving and suffering from lack of clothing, and while paper money has completely depreciated. The severe distress of the population in the cities naturally forms a continual source of dissatisfaction. Besides this the Bolsheviki trust too much to the effects of Draconic measures and are thus estranging the people. While only one-quarter or one-eighth of a pound of bread can be distributed daily, and while the people must admit themselves that the nation has to depend for its support in great part upon contraband trade, it is impossible to suppress such trade by severe and continually increasing fines. Countless working-men in Moscow travel for hours and even days to purchase in contraband trade a pound or two of flour in the provinces, and when they are discovered, their supplies are immediately confiscated by the Red Guard. This is sowing bitterness. It must be noted finally that the idealistic leaders of the Bolshevik movement have, in spite of all exertions, not succeeded in removing unreliable elements from positions in the government and administration, and thus preventing the misuse of official power.

This is all I can write today on the causes of the dissatisfaction spreading among the working-class. I have not been long enough in the country to be able to judge reliably how deep this dissatisfaction is, but from the tests which I have been able to make I can now say that the opponents of the Bolsheviki are at present much more numerous among the working-class than has been heretofore evident at the elections where the Bolsheviki have always obtained a great majority. It does not do to explain this contradiction as the anti-Bolsheviki ordinarily do, simply by saying that a sufficient number of the Red Guards are commanded to vote in the doubtful wards and thus bring the decision in favor of the Bolsheviki. This could not be so easily done and the puzzle can be explained rather by the fact that the counter-currents among the working-class against the Bolsheviki are as yet too recent to have become united and organized. On the other hand, the Bolsheviki know exactly what they want. They are pursuing their aims with the greatest energy and lack of consideration. They have an extensive and well developed party organization; they have continual proclamations, resolutions, lists of speeches by candidates carefully prepared, and they command the state sources of power which they can use for their unlimited agitation, while their opponents must impose upon themselves the greatest caution. Under such circumstances, the results of the meetings and the elections can, of course, be influenced in high measure without the use of deceit.

I am not yet in a position to make a prognosis. The coming weeks are extremely grave and critical for the Soviet government. The vanishing support among the masses is the more earnest because the grave threat along the inner front is connected closely with dangers for the international situation and with the distress of the few weeks before the harvest. But it is possible that the position of the Bolsheviki may be strengthened again after the new harvest has been distributed. In the meantime the Bolsheviki are restlessly active in the extension and perfection of their political, military and economic organization.

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A Novel of Opinion

Joan and Peter, the story of an education, by H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75.

WITHIN the scope of this story Mr. Wells gathers the young generation that came of age just before the war. Nominally a tale of girl as well as boy, there is a great deal more Peter than Joan—though, since there are 594 pages, there is a good deal of Joan. Through the medium of these youths Mr. Wells makes known his best thought and feeling on the current predicaments of the world. He also makes known his drastic conclusions on the age that was superseded by the war. Supersessions are of course very much in Mr. Wells's line. If it is not planets or eras that are being sidetracked, it is bicycles or wives. But the war gives Mr. Wells a genuine popular occasion for revising current conceptions and taking universal stock. The catastrophe of the war throws him back on the limitations and evasions, the disabilities and debilities, of an age that ran all too smoothly to its Niagara. He brings these failures into focus by concentrating on England's failure to educate itself, its failure to provide for the real initiation of its young.

This failure Mr. Wells presents in a manner most beguiling. He begins by accepting the idea of a superior class as a matter of course. The inopportunity by which high education is confined to a tiny proportion of modern humanity is never sufficiently considered. Oswald, the guardian of Joan and Peter, belongs to the élite and thinks for the élite, and the great mass of Englishmen remain third-class passengers to be hauled heavenward by specially powerful and highly polished engines dedicated to "service" and lofty managerial intentions for mankind. Yet it is in this that Mr. Wells is so clever. He begins at, and with, the orthodox England. The choleric guardian is right in the English tradition. He is an imperialist of the best type, the Martha type, who loathes Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes as a good Roman imperialist undoubtedly loathed the corrupters and degenerates. Blessed with a reactionary aunt, Lady Charlotte (whose portrait is a work of superlative accuracy and insight and scorn), this Oswald wants Joan and Peter to be brought up outside all the hateful and illiterate Victorianism of Lady Charlotte. Himself intent on the overpowering work that remains to be done in the world, he wants Joan and Peter to be prepared to take their part in it and find their joy in it and derive their strength and inspiration from it, partly because they are themselves lovable and valuable persons but largely because they are English and heirs of the (English) ages. It is the deadly wit of the book that the Englishman dissatisfied along these lines is not the literary Englishman, the highbrow, the estranged and captious radical. He is the most estimable of all specimens, the man with a V. C., the man with an annuity, the man who was born into an empire, a mission and a silk hat. It is he who brings his fierce eye to bear on the public schools in England. Without any prompting from the thin theorists, this man says, What can you teach my boy? What will you head him for? Will he learn about India, about Africa, about Ireland, about the United States? Will he emerge a political animal? Under the stiff inspection of this completely honorable and impeccable Englishman, the Etons and Harrows of England pass in a shambling inglorious parade.

Theirs is not, as one might hope, a march to the revolutionist's guillotine. The spirit of the schools and the schoolmasters is indeed bitingly criticized. They are declared to be slack, time-serving, perfunctory, unworthy, uninspired. But except for the great failure in purposefulness, the great failure to train the chosen few to devote themselves heart and soul to the empire and mankind, there is no demand for demolition. Education to Oswald is not a process by which the experiment of life in a thousand different directions is to be stimulated, directed, facilitated. It is much more a definite instrument employed by definite organizations, by which better social and political purposes can be assured. If those purposes are assured, Oswald seems to think, the youth of England will find themselves in their own way. What a defective education really means to the great masses, the unblest, Oswald thrusts aside.

But flat as is this acceptance of certain fatal disabilities, Mr. Wells is consummately interesting in his general estimate of his age. Writing at "the close of a period of chaotic freedom almost unprecedented in the history of communities," he arrives at a "rediscovery of the State as the necessary form into which the individual must fit." Looking back from this rediscovery, he is not without humor about the dabbling England in which Joan and Peter grew up. While Oswald was in Uganda, hewing a community out of the jungle (almost a Mrs. Humphry Ward hero), Joan and Peter were running barefooted around their Ruskinian home. The atmosphere of that home arouses Mr. Wells to derision. Arthur, Peter's father, wore "a highly decorative blue linen blouse," for example, and "beat out copper into great weals of pattern." You get Mr. Wells's tone in that word "weals." There is something of the formidable obvious in Mr. Wells's account of "arty" England, and from the first flicker of the father's trivality to the last portentous gasp of Aunts Phoebe and Phyllis, Mr. Wells detracts gleefully from the glamorous individualism of Hampstead. When that individualism later merges into night-clubs Mr. Wells becomes positively parental. "She and Peter sat side by side, feeling very old and experienced and worldly and up-to-date. But indeed they were still only two children who ought to have been packed off to bed hours before." Too young to go to a night-club, quite old enough to go to war! But Mr. Wells is touched with respectability. "The disorder in the world of women," he comments, "the dissolution of manners and restraints, was but the more intimate aspect of a universal drift toward lawlessness." Individualism is not what it used to be, in the Ann Veronican age!

The solicitude of the parent stands Mr. Wells in good stead, however, when he writes about the adolescence of Peter and Joan. Here there is only one art that could assist Mr. Wells, and that art, the art of a warm and pervasive sympathy, he possesses in reserve. With rare fineness and tremulousness for fineness he represents the initiation of boy and girl into the world as it is. The episode of High Cross school, a brutal school, and of Mrs. Pybus, a human sink, engage Mr. Wells's immensely resourceful art. Not less completely and touchingly expressed is Joan's adventure with the sultry Huntley and her divination of the true situation between herself and Peter, on the one hand, and Peter's adventure with God, on the other. Peter is Joan's first cousin, not, as it might have appeared, a real brother. The story is not, therefore, a story of incest. And nothing could be more beautiful than the outspokenness which ends Peter's connection with Hetty and gives him, shattered in the war, the wings that are more even than his aviator's wings.

But Mr. Wells is not out to use up his sympathies for the Joans and Peters. He is out to orientate his age. For the sake of England in the war? For democracy? For

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the league of nations? The emphasis is special to the novel. It is enough to say that Mr. Wells is a political pacemaker, sufficiently ahead of his time.

"'Making the world safe for democracy,' said Peter. 'That isn't quite it. If democracy means that any man may help who can, that school and university will give every man and woman the fairest chance, the most generous inducement to help, to do the thing he can best do under the best conditions, then, *Yes;* but if democracy means getting up a riot and boycott among the stupid and lazy and illiterate whenever anything is doing, then I say *No!* Every human being has got to work, has got to take part. If our laws and organization don't insist upon that, the Old Experimenter will. So long as the world is ruled by stale ideas and lazy ideas, he is determined that it shall flounder from war to war. Now what does this democracy mean? Does it mean a crowd of primitive brutes howling down progress and organization? because if it does, I want to be in the machine-gun section. When you talk of education, Nobby, you think of highly educated people, of a nation instructed through and through. But what of democracy in Russia, where you have a naturally clever people in a state of peasant ignorance—who can't even read? Until the schoolmaster has talked to every one for ten or twelve years, can you have what President Wilson thinks of as democracy at all?'"

The accent of this passage is the peculiar accent of Joan and Peter. It is political comment of startling immediacy. It is pamphleteering in flesh and blood.

One does not conceive of Carlyle or Ruskin as writing novels. When they attacked the problems of statesmanship or political science they did it in canonicals from a pulpit. And, per contra, when the great novelists have had anything to say contiguous to politics they have usually kept their purposes in the background. The last thing expected of them has been a first-rate practical capacity for political and social ideas. A capacity, if you like, but not a capacity applied. The good novelist, like the good sculptor, has been expected to wrap politics in a toga. This does not go for Mr. Wells. More and more Mr. Wells declines to engross himself in persons as persons. The happy or unhappy interlacement of personal destinies may provoke other men to poetry and drama. Mr. Wells is a passionate schematist who is using the storyteller's art for other ends. What concerns him is not the line, the color, the mass, the music of human appearances. What concerns him primarily is his purposeful elucidation of the universe. His novels are mainly an attempt to give the most kinetic form to his current elucidation. They do not seek to seize the pattern of diverse personalities or the pattern of institutions in relation to personalities. They present instead a brilliant pattern of pronounced social and political convictions. It is to corroborate his thinking that this intense and extraordinarily insistent man takes hold of the medium of fiction.

Agile as no other contemporary writer is agile, nervously impressionable to the point of quick irritableness, adroitly inventive and blindingly black-and-white, Mr. Wells is more than ever mature for this apt utilization of the novel. Himself a perfect exemplar of that "habit of steadfast haste" which the speeded-up world demands, he has become more and more confident in his grip on current finalities. "The enduring hope of the world," "the scope and vastness of its educational responsibilities," "the destinies of the world," "disciplined world freedom," "the burthen of human destiny," "the adventure of mankind"—these are the conceptions by which he is employed. But instead of setting them forth in the canonical manner, leaving them adramatic, he interweaves them with superlative skill into such a texture of flesh and blood as this present novel affords.

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Granted the value of this utilization of the novel, Joan and Peter is triumphant beyond all decent expectation. With the idea of a "world purpose" as rudder—a new rudder in the dirtiest of weather—he steers the whole fable of Joan and Peter and Oswald and Lady Charlotte right into the heart of the problem of world-peace. What might otherwise be classed as the most obnoxious defeatism is here justified by a skillful balance of argument and by a manifest passion for England. The gusto with which Mr. Wells keeps kicking Queen Victoria in the ribs (she might almost be George III.), the sly and flicking humor with which he touches up æstheticism and the feminists and the dons, the spicy malice of his comments on soulful polygamy, the burly vigor of his attack on the Anglicans—all these things are only possible because he relates them to a soaring vision. His powers of unpleasant characterization are singularly unimpaired. As against anything that runs counter to the "purpose that claims the subordination of individual aims," he is, at best, bantering and superior; at worst, brusque, ruthless, destroying. For one who espouses tolerance and Christianity he can be brutal to the verge of the ridiculous. Mainly he seems no more directly sympathetic than a flourishing surgeon on the crest of a new fashion, looking hungrily about him for further teeth or tonsils to remove. He is at all times, especially when reporting the Lord God ("the Old Experimenter"), as quick as an eel and as fresh as paint. But with considerable slick talk of "a rapid and busy process of tidying up the world," with various undeniable shallownesses,

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he gives his readers a most competent handle to the universe and superb reasons for their making it their own.

That handle is science, but science socially applied. Whatever impatience Mr. Wells may show with the old world, it is an impatience springing from the most generous of passions, the passion to set things right. All through his book this fluid yet guided passion eats into the readers' inertias like an acetylene flame. Hate Germany, yes. Fight Germany, yes. But don't stop there, don't take the lancing of the wound as the cure of the disease. What of England's rotten monarchy and the profiteers and the nauseous nationalisms of Europe? What, especially, of ignorance and entrenched stupidity and our worm-eaten systems of education? To H. G. Wells there is nothing so clear as the breakdown of education. To him it is like a telegraph system wrecked, the poles crazy and the wires sagged and weary operators nagging about non-transmission. Without a new system, unencumbered by the devices and subterfuges of its decadence, he sees no hope for the one hopeful element in creation, the expectant youth of the world.

It is this militancy in Joan and Peter that gives it its reason for being. It is a fascinating story; it is one of the greatest pamphlets ever written.

F. H.

A New Champion of the Absolute

A Defense of Idealism: Some Questions and Conclusions, by May Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Co.

METAPHYSICIANS may dream dreams but they rarely write novels. On the other hand, it is becoming quite the fashion for novelists to turn metaphysicians. Josiah Royce in his youth committed a novel on early Californian mining life, and then migrated to Harvard and became a great philosopher. But our novelist-philosophers first prove themselves great story-tellers and then expound the secrets of the universe with an elegance which makes us wish that we could put them into chairs of philosophy. Arnold Bennett, in The Human Machine, has displayed his firm grasp of the obvious. H. G. Wells, after telling us all about First and Last Things, has recently provided us with two Gods: one, the ineffable mystery at the heart of things; the other, man's companion in the world-struggle, amiable and incompetent—made, we must suppose, in the negative of its author's image. And now Miss Sinclair comes forward as a defender of the idealist's faith and compels vitalists and pragmatists, mysticists and recalcitrant neo-realists to dance to her piping. From Samuel Butler to Bergson, from James and Schiller to Bertrand Russell, from mystics of the west to mystics of the east, from psychologists to psychoanalysts—she gathers their theories into her dialectical press and squeezes out the pure nectar of idealism. Her wit and gaiety are most refreshing. Even our six American neo-realists will join in the laugh at her description of their famous "platform" as a "colony of Y. M. C. A. huts rather than a solidly-built, many-storied house of thought." She loves an argument. She takes a real delight in thinking. Many a solemn professor will regretfully wish that his books were half so full of freshness and insight as hers. He will envy, too, her aplomb in twisting the tail of so formidable a logical lion as Mr. Russell. It was a risky performance, but she can play the dialectical game with the best. There is not much left, after she has finished with it, of Wilhelm Wundt's theory of the relation of body and soul; and that almost extinct creature, the solipsist or "self-aloner"—this coinage by itself deserves a Ph.D.—catches it badly. Whether by close and sober reasoning or by high-spirited teasing, she carries us along with an unflagging zest, if occasionally at a somewhat breathless pace. Yet let no one think, because she is writing, not as a professor professionally, but as an amateur from sheer love of ideas, that here is milk for philosophic babes. A reader must be well at home in modern philosophy, if he would follow her; but if he is, he will enjoy the adventure.

By idealism Miss Sinclair means "spiritualistic monism," or, in less technical language, the theory that the universe is a single all-inclusive spirit, as manifestations of which physical things and finite minds have their being. Call this spirit God, and the theory confesses itself a form of pantheism. Let the finite manifestations share in the eternity of the absolute spirit, and you have immortality.

So far there is nothing new. It is easy to recognize the familiar goal towards which many of the great masters of speculation have travelled. But if the goal is old, the way to it is distinctly novel. Making the most of her opportunities as a philosophical free-lance, Miss Sinclair explores regions in which the supporters of idealism do not usually look for evidence. Briefly, her argument consists of an amazingly audacious synthesis, under the name of Absolute Spirit, of the ineffable One in which the mystic's heart seeks rest, of the life-force or élan vital of Bergson, of Samuel Butler's cosmic soul, and of the libido or will-to-live of modern psychoanalysis. A defense of idealism along such lines is sufficiently startling to disturb the dogmatic slumbers even of the most somnolent of professors. When she defends the oneness of the absolute spirit against the pluralistic logic of neo-realists, and again when she defends its perfection against the meliorism of the pragmatists, *i. e.*, against the belief in a well meaning but finite God, struggling to get the better of evil and make the universe perfect so far as he can, her argument, though unfailingly skilful and brilliant, yet moves among well explored topics of current philosophical debate. It is when she returns to the identification of the psychoanalyst's libido with the mystic's God that her defense of idealism is calculated to make idealists in some uneasiness sit up and take notice.

The connecting link for her is *sublimation*. "The secret of individuality lies in the sublimation to consciousness of the unconscious will-to-live. . . Roughly speaking, it is the diversion of the life-force, of the will-to-live, from ways that serve the purposes and interests of species into ways that serve the purposes and interests of individuals. Roughly speaking, all religion, all morality, all art, all science, all civilization are its work." She promises us a sequel to her present argument which will be called The Way of Sublimation. It will be a book to look out for.

But what has sublimation got to do with mysticism? The answer is that the mystic's adventure springs from nothing but the hunger and thirst for abundance of life. The story of mysticism is the story of the sublimation of this desire. It is the tale of the soul's pilgrimage from Love of Life to Love of God. Hence there are impure forms in the evolution of mysticism, "due, not only to imperfect psychological technique, but to imperfect metaphysics." Only sound philosophy can save the mystic from the "saint's tragedy," from the passion, strain and disturbance of soul which are born of its struggle between religious dualism and an unconscious longing for the absolute. There have been mysticisms, especially in the west, which

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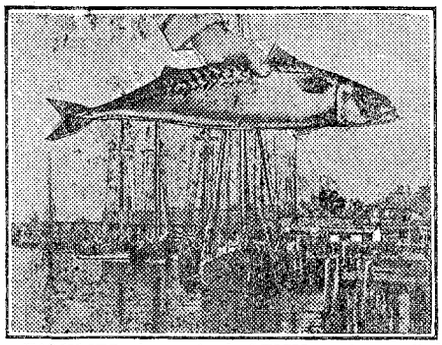

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have failed because they have not been spiritual enough. They have been infected with unsublimated libido, full of morbid and perverse amorousness or, by recoil, full of self-torture. They have revelled in "a horrible tangle of material and carnal imagery." Hence the desperate cure of asceticism, vainly seeking to achieve by repression what can be achieved only by sublimation. The ascetic seeks to stamp out the will-to-live in its physical form, but it takes its revenge upon him in dreadful fancies and hallucinations and dreams, in which the soul slides back along the track of its evolution into savage, ancestral memories of the race. But if there is a mysticism of sick souls, there is also a mysticism of robust and joyous souls, reconciled to the world through sublimation in union with the absolute spirit. "There is a pure and beautiful mysticism that springs from the vision or the sense of the 'Oneness' of all things in God. It knows nothing of passion's disturbance and its strain. Its saints are poets and its counterpart in philosophy is spiritual monism."

Poetry it may be, some will say, but not philosophy. The artist speaks in such utterances, not the thinker. At times Miss Sinclair herself seems to endorse this antithesis. She contrasts the certainty of spiritual instinct with the certainty of reason, claiming that the highest degree of certainty requires the mutual corroboration of both. But the difficulty, it seems to me, is how to maintain the distinction. What is the reasoner to reason with if not the actual insights which his experience furnishes? And if some experiences are more illuminating of the quality of the universe than others—and what else is meant by "certainties of spiritual instinct"?—how can he refuse to avail himself of them in his reasoning? What better clues can he want? If it is true that in all great and intense experiences, in love and in facing death, there is "the shock of contact with reality," what in the name of reason is the thinker to do except make the most of them in his theory? This is the one point at which I find Miss Sinclair a little lacking in courage—temporarily intimidated by the threatening gestures of neo-realism. But she recovers herself. There are, she reminds us, "moments when eternal beauty is seized travelling through time; moments when things that we have seen all our lives without truly seeing them, the flowers in the garden, the trees in the field, the hawthorn on the hillside, change to us in an instant of time, and show the secret and imperishable life they harbor; moments when the human creature we have known all our life without truly knowing it, reveals its incredible godhead; moments of danger that are moments of sure and perfect happiness, because then the adorable Reality gives itself to our very sight and touch. There is no arguing against certainties like these." True, there is no arguing *against* them, but there is arguing *with* them. And the best that philosophy can do is to render the lesson of insights such as these in the form of coherent theory. For her share in this task it is a pleasure to salute Miss Sinclair, in her own fine phrase, as an "accomplished lover of the Absolute."

R. F. A. H.

Contributors

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